

THE QUARTERLY OF THE
DEPARTMENT OF ANTIQUITIES
IN PALESTINE

VOLUME II. NO. I

JERUSALEM
PUBLISHED FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF
PALESTINE BY HUMPHREY MILFORD
OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
LONDON, E.C. 4

1932

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EGYPTO-ARABIAN, PHOENICIAN, AND OTHER COINS OF THE FOURTH CENTURY B.C. FOUND IN PALESTINE

THE following coins were acquired by the Department of Antiquities in circumstances which imply that they belong to a hoard. They were offered in small lots at short intervals by a Jerusalem dealer, except Nos. 4, 11, 13, 15, and 57, which came from a Jaffa dealer. No satisfactory information could be obtained as to provenance, but the Jerusalem dealer believed that the coins had been found, some at Abu Shusheh, near Gezer, and others at Yebnah, a village about five miles from the sea and ten miles due west of Gezer. This may mean that a hoard had been dispersed, or that the coins were picked up in small numbers at some particular spot, perhaps in the sand dunes near the coast, the dealer receiving his supplies from individuals belonging to each of the villages named. Therefore, in drawing conclusions based on the supposition that these coins form part of a hoard, it is necessary to remember that individual specimens may be extraneous.¹

The coins were thinly and evenly coated with hard black patina; the small amount of cleaning necessary made little or no difference to the weights before cleaning given in the List. Except where otherwise stated the coins are in particularly good condition, showing hardly any signs of wear due to circulation. They are listed by legends and types, not in chronological sequence. A few specimens apparently date from the fifth century (notably No. 50) and the beginning of the fourth, but the majority seem to belong to the middle of the fourth century, descending to the time of Alexander.

Certain coins in the set labelled Egypto- and Philisto-Arabian ² are in mint state and seem likely on that account to be among the latest in the hoard; this applies especially to a small group (a) showing lions and other animals; though

(a) Nos. 44 to 48, 56, 59 to 61, 63; also 16 and 17.

¹ It may be useful to specify the various lots in the order in which they were offered for sale:

- | | |
|--|--------------------|
| Lot 1: Nos. 2, 14, 18, 20, 30, 35, 40, 46, 53, 54. | |
| „ 2: „ 17, 19, 24, 55, 60. | Lot 3: No. 45. |
| „ 4: „ 8, 22, 29, 34, 36, 44, 49, 51. | |
| „ 5: „ 3, 16, 23, 28, 33, 38, 42, 47, 63. | |
| „ 6: „ 9, 21, 26, 27, 31, 58, 59. | |
| „ 7: „ 4, 11, 13, 15, 57, from the Jaffa dealer. | |
| „ 8: „ 12, 32, 37, 62. | Lot 9: Nos. 7, 39. |
| „ 10: „ 5, 25, 41, 43, 48, 50, 52. | |
| „ 11: „ 1, 6, 10, 56, 61. | |

² Using the names given to groups of similar coins in the *British Museum Catalogue, Palestine*, pp. 176 ff.

possibly struck in Palestine or Egypt, these coins appear to have points in common with Cypriote coins, as distinct from Phoenician coins struck under Persian influence at Tyre¹ and Sidon. Some of their types could also have been borrowed from early coins of Thrace and Macedonia.² The variety of the types, coupled with their similarity in execution and appearance of being contemporary, suggests that they were struck by the same mint craftsmen for circulation in different localities. They seem to combine local types³ with others prompted by Greek rather than by Persian ideas. In date the coins of this small group may be very near the time of Alexander. It is worth noting that Nos. 44 to 48 have the letter η in common with most of the Sidonian coins in the hoard.

(b) Nos. 50, 53, 54, 55, 58. A few coins (b) in the Egypto- and Philisto-Arabian set appear to stand alone and to have the character of issues from regular mints. Nos. 50 and 55, apparently among the earliest, show bearded male heads of the kind found on other coins in the Philisto-Arabian class,⁴ but in rather better style; the facial characteristics and treatment of the hair and beard are vaguely reminiscent of some crude examples of Cypriote sculpture.⁵ No. 53 seems to be full of possibilities for conjecture and may be of Egyptian origin, although, on the evidence of the Beni Hassan hoard,⁶ coins of other than Athenian types

¹ The hybrid illustrated in *B.M.C., Phoenicia*, Pl. XLIV, No. 2, having on the obverse the usual Tyrian type and on the reverse a lion attacking a gazelle, seems to belong to the group under consideration.

² This applies equally to many other coins in the Philisto-Arabian set. Since these notes were written, an examination has been made of some rock-cut tombs found by the Department near 'Atlit Castle; these tombs are to be published in a later number of the Quarterly, but it may be mentioned that their contents included coins of Sidonian and Tyrian types similar to these here described (Nos. 21-41), also a coin of Aegae (*B.M.C., Macedon*, p. 38, No. 4) datable to the earlier part of the fifth century. Though corroded, this coin was not much worn in circulation; such indications, added to the discovery by Newell of an era of Alexander at Acre beginning c. 347 B.C., tend to show that there must have been a fairly strong Macedonian element in the Greek population of the Levant before the time of Alexander's conquests.

³ As found on earlier coins in an area extending from Egypt to Phoenicia. Certain types (e.g. the janiform head, the fore-part of a horse) occur consistently on Philisto-Arabian coins of apparently different periods, which suggests that they are to be associated with local mints making successive issues in their own particular types. Concerning Philisto-Arabian coins in general Hill states: 'The characteristic of all this group of coins is that they represent types likely to attract the people among whom they circulated. Beginning with imitations of various archaic Greek coins, the engravers go on to types of local origin, drawing their inspiration from Syria, Judaea, Arabia, or Egypt. None of these so varied types can be regarded as evidence of local cults.'—*B.M.C., Palestine*, p. lxxxviii.

⁴ Cf. *ibid.*, Pl. XIX, No. 28.

⁵ Cf. Myres, *Cesnola Collection of Antiquities from Cyprus* (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1914), p. 204, Nos. 1288 and 1290.

⁶ *Revue Numismatique*, 1905, pp. 235 f. The hoard was found in the course of excavations

do not appear to have circulated as currency in Egypt at the beginning of the fourth century. It is difficult to suggest a date for this coin later than the middle of the fourth century though it is in perfect preservation and similar in fabric to coins of the group (a) already mentioned. No. 58 bears types attributed to Gaza, the reverse occurring on a single fragmentary specimen in the Beni Hassan hoard.

Some other coins (c) appear to be similar in fabric to group (a) but rather different in style; the dove on No. 62 may indicate the mint of Ascalon; the palm-branch (?) diadem on Nos. 51 and 52 is like the diadem worn by the male head seen on earlier coins of Aradus.¹

The coins of Athenian types, (d), being presumably local copies, are difficult to date; they could be considerably later than originals from which they may have been imitated; it would seem that such originals might belong to the earlier part of the fourth century. Much interest attaches to No. 4 bearing the legend $\Gamma\eta\gamma$; no adequate interpretation has yet been found and it would be inadvisable to add to the somewhat unconvincing suggestion hazarded in a footnote to the list.

The combinations of Athenian and other types (e) are similar in character to the Egypto- and Philisto-Arabian set, particularly group (a), but Nos. 19 and 20 seem earlier than group (a), while No. 18 resembles No. 1 in style.

The Sidonian coins having $\circ$ on the reverse are relatively clumsy (No. 24 excepted), the galleys with square stern, in particular, being carelessly outlined over clumsy zigzag lines of waves.² The coins vary much in weight; it is not easy to fit them into the Table given on p. xc of the *British Museum Catalogue, Phoenicia*; an attempt to do so results in the following:

Rounded stern.	Nos. 21, 22.	(Group V.)
" "	Nos. 24, 35, 36.	(Unplaced.)
Indeterminate.	No. 23.	(Group VIII.)
Square stern.	Nos. 25, 27, 28, 29, 31.	(Group IV b.)
" "	Nos. 33, 34, 38.	(Unplaced.)
Stern not visible.	Nos. 26, 30, 32, 37.	

conducted by John Garstang during the winter 1903-4 for the University of Liverpool; the hoard contained 54 Athenian tetradrachms dating from the end of the fifth century B.C. together with about 20 Phoenician coins of Tyre and Sidon, including fragmentary ones, and a fragment of a coin attributed to Gaza of Philisto-Arabian types (*rev.* fore-part of a horse). The Athenian coins were not chisel-cut but all the other coins, except three, were.

¹ Cf. *B.M.C., Phoenicia*, Pl. I, Nos. 12-15; the coins following in the same series show a laurel crown.

² As on coins of later Tyrian types.

Nos. 25 and 31 are similar in style and better executed than the majority having galleys with square stern; apart from these, the coins with rounded stern appear to be earlier, especially in the case of the smallest denominations (Nos. 36 to 38). If this is correct and if the inscription *oʿ* belongs to Tennes,¹ most of the coins in the Sidonian set are later than 350 B.C.²

(g) Nos. 39 to 41. Of the three coins bearing Tyrian types, (g), No. 40 belongs to the beginning of the fourth century, No. 39 is a plated specimen and may be later on that account, while No. 41 has been classed with coins attributed to the period of Alexander or his immediate successors.³

With regard to the denominations of the small silver coins (leaving out of account Nos. 3, 39, and 50) the largest, which for convenience can be called a unit, approximates to a tri-hemi-obol. The Sidonian coins of Phoenician Standard are the heaviest; the coins of Athenian types, with some in the Egypto- and Philisto-Arabian set,⁴ come next, their denominations and weights having possibly been chosen to enable them to circulate with coins of Phoenician as well as of Attic Standard. But the coins of the Egypto- and Philisto-Arabian set are lighter and more definitely Attic, and they may, in some cases, have been struck under conditions that did not make it necessary to take into account possible competition with coins of the Phoenician Standard in circulation. Judged by appearance alone most of the coins could be placed in one of three categories, the unit already mentioned, what looks like a half, and what looks like a quarter, though the weights and consideration of difference in standard show that other denominations must be represented; the distinction by appearance (i.e. broadness of flan and, to a limited extent, thickness or thinness, where marked) is, however, worth considering where such coins circulated together without the aid of a balance. As the weights

¹ Babelon, *Traité*, II, 2, p. 579. But No. 23, if the date has been correctly read as year 6 or year 7, may create a difficulty in the arrangement of the coins of Mazaeus proposed *ibid.*, p. 586.

² See, however, *ibid.*, pp. 563 ff. Nos. 24 to 34 belong to the group having 9 on the obverse and 0 on the reverse which Babelon ultimately attributed to the period before 373 B.C.; but his former proposal, *ibid.*, p. 566, to attribute them to Bagoas, and his suggestion that they may have been struck at Acre, after 345 B.C., deserve further consideration. The explanation of the date accompanying the letter 9 on coins similar to No. 24—*ibid.*, p. 571—might still hold good if, as appears possible, this coin stands apart from the group bearing the letter only and no date. The argument in favour of the earlier attribution rests mainly on the weights.

³ References are given in footnotes to the list.

⁴ Such as No. 58, which may be on the Phoenician Standard; also Nos. 45 to 48 (the Bes coins, with the letter 9 as on Sidonian coins), No. 59, and Nos. 19 and 20, all of which come near in weight to the coins of Athenian types.

vary and the origin of many of the coins is uncertain, the hoard does not in itself appear to provide sufficient material for an examination of the denominations and standards represented, but it will be of interest for comparison with other finds in that respect.

C. LAMBERT.

LIST

(The coins are slightly enlarged in reproduction on Plates I and II, as shown by the scale.)

ALEXANDER THE GREAT

Nos.

1. Head of Alexander (?) l. wearing royal kausia.
 $\nearrow$ Rev. Zeus¹ seated l. on throne without back, holding eagle (?) in outstretched r. hand and sceptre, dotted, in l.; in shallow incuse square. $\mathcal{A}\mathcal{R}$. (Slightly worn.) 6 mm. 0.12 grm.
2. Head of Heracles r. in lion-skin; dotted border.
 $\nearrow$ Rev. [A] $\Lambda\mathcal{E}\Xi\mathcal{A}\mathcal{N}\Delta\mathcal{P}\mathcal{O}\mathcal{Y}$, between club and quiver; in field, near club, pellet. $\mathcal{A}\mathcal{E}$. 9 mm. 0.95 grm.

ATHENIAN TYPES

Helmeted head of Athena r.

Rev. Owl; on l., olive-spray; in field, l. or r., symbols, legends, &c., as shown below; in incuse square.

3. $\nearrow$ l., crescent; r., $\mathcal{A}\mathcal{O}\mathcal{E}$. $\mathcal{A}\mathcal{R}$. (Plated.) 15 mm. 4.19 grm.
4. $\leftarrow$ r., $\mathcal{A}\mathcal{O}$ [E] and 𐀀𐀃𐀆𐀆 .² $\mathcal{A}\mathcal{R}$. 9 mm. 0.79 grm.
5. $\swarrow$ r., $\mathcal{A}\mathcal{O}$ [E]. $\mathcal{A}\mathcal{R}$. (Slightly worn.) 9 mm. 0.85 grm.
6. $\nearrow$ l., crescent and star; r., large pellet and $\mathcal{A}\mathcal{O}$. $\mathcal{A}\mathcal{R}$. 8 mm. 0.73 grm.
7. $\nearrow$ l., crescent; r., $\mathcal{O}$. $\mathcal{A}\mathcal{R}$. (Worn.) 8 mm. 0.78 grm.
8. $\rightarrow$ r., $\mathcal{A}\mathcal{O}$. $\mathcal{A}\mathcal{R}$. 7 mm. 0.72 grm.
9. $\nearrow$ r., $\mathcal{A}\mathcal{O}\mathcal{E}$. $\mathcal{A}\mathcal{R}$. 6 mm. 0.42 grm.
10. $\swarrow$ l., crescent; r., $\mathcal{A}\mathcal{O}$ [.]. $\mathcal{A}\mathcal{R}$. 6 mm. 0.16 grm.
11. $\nearrow$ Legend imperfectly struck. $\mathcal{A}\mathcal{R}$. 6 mm. 0.35 grm.
12. $\nearrow$ l., no olive-spray; r., $\mathcal{A}\mathcal{O}\mathcal{E}$. $\mathcal{A}\mathcal{R}$. (Worn.) 5 mm. 0.21 grm.
13. $\uparrow$ l., no olive-spray; r., $\mathcal{A}\mathcal{O}\mathcal{E}$. $\mathcal{A}\mathcal{R}$. 7 mm. 0.43 grm.
14. $\nearrow$ r., [A] $\mathcal{O}\mathcal{E}$. $\mathcal{A}\mathcal{R}$. 5 mm. 0.15 grm.

¹ The type seems to resemble Alexander's usual reverse rather than the Baaltars type (cf. Babelon, *Les Perses Achéménides*, No. 259), but the form of the eagle is indefinite.

² מנת (? Mentor—by transposition of the last two letters—the Rhodian, who commanded Greek mercenaries in Egypt under Nectanebo II and who afterwards entered the service of Artaxerxes III, taking part in the invasion of Egypt, c. 343 B.C.)

Nos.

COMBINATIONS OF ATHENIAN AND OTHER TYPES¹

15. Helmeted head of Athena r.
Rev. Irregular bar (? dolphin or owl imperfectly struck), in incuse square dotted on two sides. *AR.* 6 mm. 0.15 gm.
16. Elephant's head r. (? or helmet); line (? or cable) border.
↓ *Rev.* Owl; on l., olive-spray; on r., AOE; in incuse square. *AR.* 7 mm. 0.3 gm.
17. Head of Athena r. (helmet indistinct but traces visible), dotted border.
↓ *Rev.* Head of roaring lion r. with l. fore-paw raised; ² square border of dots in incuse square. *AR.* 8 mm. 0.32 gm.
18. Youthful head r. wearing diadem and necklace.
↓ *Rev.* Owl; on l., olive-spray and crescent; on r., AOE and 9; in incuse square. *AR.* (Slightly worn.) 7 mm. 0.24 gm.
- 19-20. (*Two coins, identical in size and weight, from the same dies.*)
Head of young satyr facing.
↑ ↓ *Rev.* Owl; on l., olive-spray and crescent; on r., AOE; in incuse square. *AR.* 9 mm. 0.7 gm.

SIDONIAN TYPES³

- Galley l., with oars, over two lines of waves; above, inscr.; details as mentioned below; dotted border.
Rev. (a) The King of Persia standing r., in r. hand dagger, l. grasping head of lion confronting him, erect on hind legs with l. fore-paw raised; in centre, inscr.; in incuse square. Or,
(b) The King of Persia running or kneeling r. (as on sigloi) with bow and spear or dagger; in incuse square.
21. III (year 3); waves undulating.
↑ *Rev.* (a) ♂ (vn). *AR.* (Worn.) 9 mm. 0.75 gm.
22. No obverse inscr.; waves undulating.
↑ *Rev.* (a) ♂; no incuse square. *AR.* (Worn.) 10 mm. 0.68 gm.
23. III III (year 6 + ?); 4 waves undulating.
[I]
↑ *Rev.* (a) ♂ (w = Mazaeus⁵). *AR.* (Worn.) 9 mm. 0.6 gm.
24. [I]~39 (I and date, 30 + ?); waves undulating, only one line on flan.
↓ *Rev.* (a) ♂. *AR.* (Slightly worn.) 10 mm. 0.9 gm.

¹ Thin in fabric and resembling coins classed as Egypto- and Philisto-Arabian. (*B.M.C., Palestine*, pp. 176 ff.)

² Cf. below, No. 60 (lion with paw raised), also *B.M.C., Cyprus*, Pl. I, No. 5 (*rev.* of a coin of Amathus?).

³ Cf. *B.M.C., Phoenicia*, p. 146, Nos. 36, &c.

⁴ On the obverse there is a curve apparently belonging to the stern of the galley, but disconnected; this might be part of a ζ (γ retrograde) or possibly a numeral to be added to the date.

⁵ Babelon, *Traité*, II, 2, p. 582.

Nos.

25-34. 9 (∞ on No. 26); letter indistinct on Nos. 25, 30, 31; absent on Nos. 32-4; waves mainly zigzag; shown by two double lines on No. 31; off flan on Nos. 26, 28; keel indicated by two horizontal lines crossed by oars¹ on No. 28.

Rev. (a) O. AR. (No. 34 plated.)

No. 26 worn; Nos. 30, 31, 33 slightly worn.

Sizes (mm.). 10, 10, 11, 9, 9, 9, 9, 8, 10.

Wts. (gm.). 0.97, 0.75, 0.8, 0.72, 0.9, 0.79, 0.85, 0.63, 0.66, 0.72.

Dies. ↑ ↑ ↗ ↗ ↑ ↑ ↑ ↗ ↑ ↗.

35. ■■■ (year 5); one line of waves, zigzag.

↓ Rev. (b) King with bow and spear; no incuse. Æ. 9 mm. 0.63 gm.

36. [■ †] ? two undulating lines of waves.

↓ Rev. (b) King with bow and spear. AR. (Considerably worn.) 7 mm. 0.32 gm.

37. No obverse inscr.; one line of waves, zigzag.

↑ Rev. (b) King with bow and spear. AR. (Slightly worn.) 8 mm. 0.35 gm.

38. 9; keel shown by two straight lines crossed by oars, over one line of waves.

↑ Rev. (b) King kneeling with bow, dagger, and quiver; two r. arms appear, the one engraved first having elbow close to side and dagger in hand, the second having elbow extended to l., holding quiver. AR. 7 mm. 0.42 gm.

TYRIAN TYPES

39. Hippocamp² r., carrying bearded male rider with bow; below, triple line of waves; dolphin in ex.; cable border.

↑ Rev. Owl r., with crook and flail; cable border. AR. (Plated.)³ 15 mm. 2.63 gm.

40. Hippocamp⁴ r.; dolphin below; cable border.

↑ Rev. Owl r., with crook and flail; cable border; in incuse circle. AR. (Worn.) 10 mm. 0.76 gm.

41. Hippocamp⁵ l., over two undulating lines of waves; dotted border.

↑ Rev. Owl l., with crook and flail; dotted border. AR. (Slightly worn.) 8 mm. 0.48 gm.

(UNCERTAIN)

42. Dolphin r.; dotted border.

↓ Rev. Lion's mask facing; dotted border in circular incuse. AR. (Worn.) 6 mm. 0.23 gm.

¹ Cf. No. 38.

² Cf. *B.M.C., Phoenicia*, Pl. XLIV, No. 3.

³ This coin is in the style of Group III, referred to in the *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine*, Vol. I, No. 1; the statement there made (p. 12) that no plated specimens are recorded in Group III now requires correction.

⁴ *B.M.C., Phoenicia*, p. 230, No. 23, &c.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 233, No. 43.

Nos.

43. Two figures in Persian dress standing confronted, each carrying shield and spear; in square dotted border.

Rev. Obscure (? possibly hieroglyphs, or conventional representation of galley over waves); in incuse square. *AR.* (Much worn.) 9 mm. 0.38 grm.

EGYPTO-ARABIAN, PHILISTO-ARABIAN, ETC.¹

44. Obscure; apparently a human-headed animal; traces of circular dotted border. *Rev.* Goat running r., head turned back; above, 9; square border of dots in incuse square. *AR.* (Worn.) 7 mm. 0.31 grm.

45. Lion springing to r. on back of ram lying r.; above, 9; in circle of dots.
→ *Rev.* Bes, standing to front, holding up two panthers² (one on each side) by their tails,³ fore-paws resting on the ground, heads inwards and looking up; square border of dots in incuse square. *AR.* 10 mm. 0.71 grm.

46. ← *As* 45 (same dies). *AR.* 10 mm. 0.73 grm.

47. Head of Bes facing; on either side, a panther (or lion) resting fore-paws on his crown, looking back; dotted border.

↗ *Rev.* Lion r. jumping on gazelle crouching r.; above, 9 (ב); square border of dots in incuse square. *AR.* 9 mm. 0.67 grm.

48. Head of Bes with panthers, as No. 47.

↙ *Rev.* Lion jumping r. on back of gazelle lying l.; above, 9; square border of dots in incuse square. *AR.* 9 mm. 0.75 grm.

49. Sacred eye amulet⁴ struck from a die; edges chiselled to give sharp outline except along top where original slight convexity remains; pierced from end to end in the usual way. (*Rev.* plain.) *Æ.* 8 × 5 mm. 0.55 grm.

50. Male head l., with pointed beard, hair in a knot at back, wearing diadem; cable border.

↙ *Rev.* Lion l. attacking bull from behind; above, 9 (ב); square border of dots in incuse square. *AR.* (Much worn.) 16 mm. 3.93 grm.

51. Male head r., eye full, with palm-branch diadem, wearing necklace; cable border.

↗ *Rev.* Lion springing l. over prostrate ram l.;⁵ above, 𐤎 [N]⁶ in incuse square. *AR.* 9 mm. 0.67 grm.

¹ Including, probably, other Mediterranean types.

² Connected with the cult of Bes (cf. the panthers or lions on his crown, Nos. 47 and 48) and having no topical significance.

³ Cf. a type of Aradus—marine deity holding two dolphins by the tails—*B.M.C., Phoenicia*, p. 3, No. 12, &c.

⁴ Can such objects have been used as currency in Egypt? The technique of the engraving has much in common with the Bes coins (Nos. 45–8) and others. The amulet is in a state similar to the bronze coins described as regards condition and patination.

⁵ Cf. *B.M.C., Palestine*, Pl. XIX, No. 24; also Babelon, *Les Perses Achéménides*, Pl. VIII, No. 16; earlier examples of the same reverse type. A similar lion is seen on coins of Heraclea (Grose, *McClean Collection*, Vol. I, Pl. 28, Nos. 3–9).

⁶ Owing to a flaw in the die the first sign is not clear; it is probably N; cf. Babelon, *Traité*, Pl. CXXIV, Nos. 1 and 2, bearing what appears to be the same letter and having reverse type similar to No. 62.

Nos.

52. ↘ As 51 (same dies). *AR.* 9 mm. 0.59 grm.
53. Bearded male head of Aethiopian type r., with horn, wearing ear-ring. (Head of Pan ?)
↙ *Rev.* Water-buffalo of the Nile moving r.; above, ∇ [𐤀] (𐤁[𐤀])¹; square cable border in incuse square. *AR.* 9 mm. 0.68 grm.
54. Obscure (? Silphium plant).
Rev. Gorgon-head facing; ² below, on r., 𐤀 (𐤁); on l., [𐤀]; in incuse square. *AR.* 9 mm. 0.65 grm.
55. Male head r. with short pointed beard and hair in a knot at the back; cable border.³
↘ *Rev.* Male head (Silenus-like) r., hair similar, beard fuller, wearing ear-ring and necklace; square border of dots in incuse square. *AR.* (Much worn.) 10 mm. 0.55 grm.
56. Bearded male head l., hair in a knot at back; dotted border.
↑ *Rev.* Fore-part of lion lying r., looking back; square border of dots in incuse square. *AR.* 7 mm. 0.15 grm.
57. Bearded male head r., wearing necklace; cable border.
Rev. Obscure (imperfectly struck); in incuse square. *AR.* (Much worn.) 7 mm. 0.36 grm.
58. Bearded male head r., hair in knot at back, wearing diadem and necklace.
↑ *Rev.* Fore-part of horse ⁴ cantering l.; square border of dots in incuse square. *AR.* (Slightly worn.) 8 mm. 0.84 grm.
59. Janiform head, the face to r. having pointed beard, in dotted circle within shallow circular incuse.
↙ *Rev.* Lion r., mounting throne; border on two sides, consisting of a line of dots below throne and a continuous line on r.; in incuse square. *AR.* 8 mm. 0.75 grm.
60. Janiform head, as preceding; in dotted circle.
↑ *Rev.* Roaring lion sitting at bay with l. fore-paw raised; square border of dots in incuse square.⁵ *AR.* 7 mm. 0.25 grm.
61. Head of roaring lion r.; dotted border.
↑ *Rev.* Winged sphinx ⁶ sitting r.; square border of dots in incuse square. *AR.* 10 mm. 0.62 grm.

¹ The initial letter of an Aramaic form of the word Cush, taken from hieroglyphs, should unfortunately be 𐤀; in Hebrew the word is כּוּשׁ (Erman u. Grapow, *Wörterbuch der aegyptischen Sprache*, 9. Lfrg. (1931), p. 109).

² Types also found on much earlier coins of Cyrene (cf. *B.M.C., Cyrenaica*, Pl. II, No. 18).

³ Cf. Philisto-Arabian type (obverse), *B.M.C., Palestine*, Pl. XIX, Nos. 14 and 18.

⁴ Cf. *ibid.*, Pl. XLII, No. 4.

⁵ Cf. *ibid.*, Pl. XIX, Philisto-Arabian types (obverse), and *B.M.C., Cyprus*, Pl. II, types of Citium (reverse).

⁶ Cf. *ibid.*, Pl. V. (Idalium.)

Nos.

62. Young male head r., bare; dotted border.

↙ *Rev.* Goat running r.,¹ looking back; above, a dove standing r.; square border of dots in incuse square. *Æ.* (Badly struck, but little worn.) 9 mm. 0.65 grm.

63. Fore-part of boar (?) r.; cable border.

↗ *Rev.* Goat lying r.; on l. olive-spray; square border of dots in incuse square. *Æ.* 8 mm. 0.22 grm.

The following larger bronze coins, acquired from the same source, may be associated in the hoard; they are similar in patination to the bronze coins already recorded but rather more worn.

SIDON

Galley l., stern rounded where visible, with oars, over two lines of waves, undulating or zigzag, not neat; dotted border.

Rev. King of Persia driven by charioteer in car drawn by two (?) horses moving slowly l.; double exergual line; dotted border. Five coins. *Æ.*²

Nos. ³	.	.	.	(C. 111)	(C. 509)	(C. 580)	(C. 630)	(C. 631)
Sizes (mm.)	.	.	.	15	15	17	15	15
Wts. (grm.)	.	.	.	5.77	4	7.91	5.25	4.62
Dies	.	.	.	↑	↑	↓	↑	↑
				(Lot 2.) ⁴	(Lot 9.)	(Alone. Much worn.)	(Lot 10.)	(Lot 10.)

Galley l., &c., as preceding; above,  (on the first specimen),   (on the second); dotted border.

Rev. King of Persia running r. with bow and spear; dotted border. Two coins. *Æ.*⁵

Nos.	.	.	.	(C. 633)	(C. 681)
Sizes (mm.)	.	.	.	15	15
Wts. (grm.)	.	.	.	2.95	3.82
Dies	.	.	.	↑	↓
				(Lot 10.)	(Lot 11.)

ALEXANDER THE GREAT

Head of Heracles r. in lion-skin; dotted border.

↑ *Rev.* ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡ, downwards in centre; on l., bow and quiver; on r., club; in field r., Α; no border. One coin. *Æ.* (C. 642.) 18 mm. 6.44 grm. (Lot 10.)

Not worn.

C. LAMBERT.

¹ Cf. *B.M.C., Cyrenaica*, Pl. V, No. 4 (reverse similar?).

² *B.M.C., Phoenicia*, p. 147, No. 46, &c.

⁴ See footnote on p. 1.

³ Inventory Nos. in the Palestine Museum.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 148, No. 53, &c.



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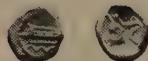
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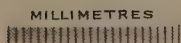
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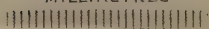


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MILLIMETRES



THIRD-CENTURY PORTRAIT BUSTS

Catalogue, No. S. 894. Female portrait bust nearly to waist; hollow behind. Draped in tunic fitting loosely round neck; over this a cloak thrown around the shoulders is brought across in front from r. to l. just below the breasts and somewhat in toga style. Of white marble. Height $29\frac{1}{2}$ inches, breadth 19 inches. Complete and unrestored, including the base and tablet for inscription. Stated to have been found at Askalon.

THE portrait bust here illustrated (Pl. III) was purchased in 1922 from a dealer at Jaffa, who is the authority for its provenance (Askalon). A preliminary photograph appeared in the *Bulletin of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem*, No. 5, 1924, p. 61; and a somewhat inadequate reproduction in Macalister, *A Century of Excavation in Palestine*, Fig. 17 (facing p. 200). The period and subject of the work seem to merit a little further investigation.

The lady's nose is long, low, and flat, and has a strongly marked protuberance about the middle when seen in profile. The tip is hardly more raised above the face than this protuberance. The eyebrows are cursorily indicated by shallow incisions. She has a remarkably long upper lip, i.e. the distance from nostril to upper lip is greater than usual; eyes have the pupils hollow and iris indicated by an incised circle. Her hair is brushed straight back from the forehead in one sweep to the nape of the neck, leaving the ears completely exposed; then returns upon itself straight up over the crown of the head nearly to the forehead again, in a kind of broad, flattened pigtail, apparently of eight plaits joined together,¹ to judge from the zigzag markings with which it is incised. The ears are long and not well modelled; in front of either a single lock of hair escapes on to the cheek. She has very high cheek-bones, and the cheeks are rendered by an almost flat plane from ear to chin; the latter is very broad and square. A prominent, square forehead, rather flat in front, completes the general impression of masterfulness which we associate with most of these Syrian Imperial ladies.

From the general form of the bust and style of hairdressing, it is clear at once that it belongs to the third century A.D., and to the middle of that century. Comparison with the coin-portraits shows that this particular style of doing the hair in a broad pigtail, returning on itself from the nape of the neck to the crown of the head, belongs to the time of Tranquillina, Otacilia

¹ Were these sewn together? v. M. M. Evans in *Numis. Chron.* 4th series, VI (1906), pp. 57-8. Cf. the two portraits of this period and style in the Brit. Mus. portrait gallery, Nos. 1923 and 1924 (the latter Herennia Etruscilla).

Severa, and Cornelia Salonina, i.e. from A.D. 238 to 268. It is not necessary to assume that one of these ladies is represented in our bust, but, if so, the resemblance is closest to Salonina, wife of Gallienus.¹ The pronounced bulge at the bridge of the nose, making it rather hawk-like in appearance, and a certain severity of expression are to be seen in both bust and coin-portraits; the unusual length of the upper lip seems also to connect the two. Macalister's description of the bust as having 'a particularly evil and repulsive face' is surely too hasty and superficial. The features are certainly not classical, nor attractive in the more girlish style of Julia Domna; they are rather matronly, and indicate a masterful character. The high cheek-bones, the crooked nose, the long upper lip, and the intent gaze, all combine to suggest a strong personality. It is unfortunate that we know so little of Salonina; she appears on the scene as wife of Gallienus from no one knows where, and disappears into silence at his death in A.D. 268. In any event, there can be little doubt that this bust represents one of the line of Syrian princesses and empresses which began with Julia Domna, and, more particularly, one of the three or four latest of that line. The face seems to convey a suggestion of Persian or Armenian.

Further study would probably produce more sculptures of this period in the museums of Europe; and further examples of third- and fourth-century work, properly studied and dated, are much to be desired. Whilst making known the present work, which has perhaps some peculiar interest of its own as coming from Palestine, it may be worth while to direct attention again to one or two other important works of the period and the opinion of several scholars upon them. The late third-century half-bust of a man at Chatsworth² has been described by Riegl³ in words which may be taken as well summing up the chief qualities and marks of this style. He says of it:

The contours are clear and hard with the minimum of modulation in the whole or in the parts (in the rendering, e.g., of the contours of lips, eyebrows, or eyelids) in contrast to the absence of clearness in the treatment of the details within each plane (Detailfläche). *The hair over the forehead and eyebrows is summarily expressed as compact protuberances, with the detail merely scratched in*; the pose of the head is stiff to the front (as in the 'frontality' of the older Greek statues) without the characteristic turn to the side of the portrait heads of the third century. . . . The drapery is *pressed forward into one plane*, and resembles a damp cloth. *The hollows between the flat folds appear as*

¹ Cf. *Numis. Chron.* 4th series, VI (1906), pp. 57-8 and Pl. IV; Mattingly and Sydenham, *Roman Imperial Coinage*, Vol. V, Pt. I (by P. H. Webb), Pl. IV; *Roman Medallions in the British Museum*, 1874, Pls. XLIX, L.

² Mrs. Strong, *Roman Sculpture*, II, Pl. CXXXVIII and p. 383.

³ *Spätrömische Kunstindustrie*, p. 109; quoted by Mrs. Strong, loc. cit. (whose trans. I give). Italics mine.

deeply grooved lines which, however, do not (as in classical drapery) run down into the lower hem,¹ *but end above it, in the field of the plane.*

A comparison of this with our bust will reveal many points of similarity, particularly to the words in italics. The folds, especially of the tunic between the breasts, are lifeless, stiff, and angular, if judged by Hellenic-Roman standards. The gradations are too sudden. The fine head of Otacilia Severa at Rossie Priory should also be compared and contrasted; cf. Poulsen, *Greek and Roman Portraits in English Country Houses*, Pl. 108, p. 109, and reff.

The Chatsworth bust above referred to dates from the end of the third century. By that time at Rome the 'return to Frontality' was making itself felt; with Diocletian and Constantine it was complete, the best-known example being, of course, the colossal head of Constantine in the *Conservatori* courtyard. This 'frontality' and flatness of technique came from the East² (whence the early Greeks themselves had received it, though they were to modify it vastly in accordance with their own genius). It is one of the important criteria by which Byzantine or Christian Art is differentiated from Roman.³ The East is asserting itself again, and invading the European area after its long subjection to the Hellenic style. Our bust, then, may well exhibit characteristics which at Rome itself would not be forthcoming until the last decade of the third century;⁴ in that event this example of provincial art has an illuminating significance. 'Provincialism' is about to triumph, and nemesis awaits the scoffers. Not indeed until now can one appreciate the exquisite accuracy of

iam pridem in Tiberim defluxit Orontes

which was even more a prophecy than a complaint against current conditions.

The portrait stands on the boundary between Classical and Byzantine. In form, conception, and external details it is Roman, of the Imperial tradition; subject, manner, and spirit are Eastern, and diffuse that prophetic quality which marks those works that occur at the dawn of a new epoch.

¹ Or, with the present bust, the upper one. Some grooves do indeed on our figure reach the (upper) edge of the tunic, but there is a sufficient number which do not to illustrate Riegl's description.

² Space permits only the bare statement here; but cf., e.g., Diehl, *Manuel d'Art Byzantin*, I, ch. 1, *passim*, and the various (especially the earlier) works of Strzygowski.

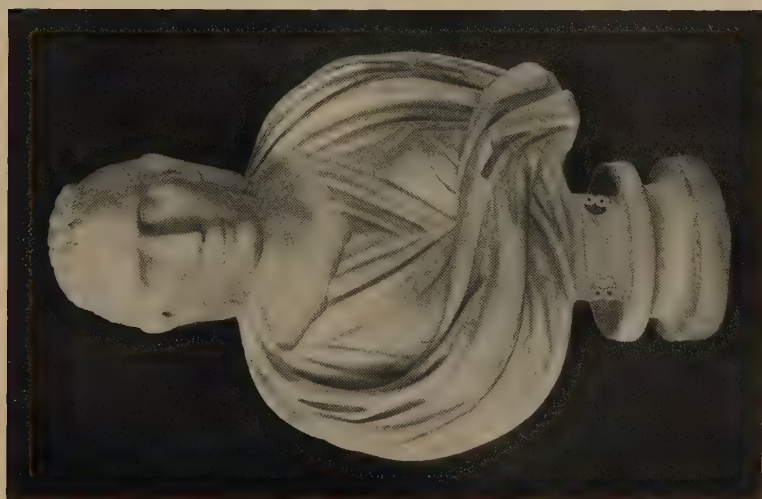
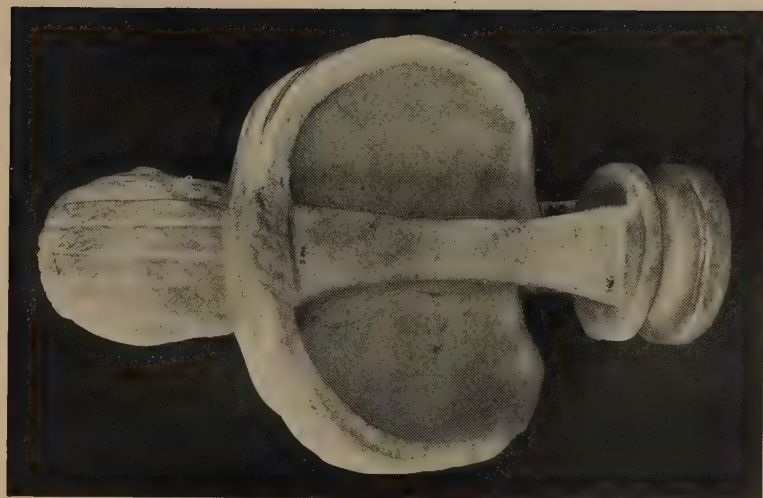
³ The obscurity which envelops the art of sculpture in the period immediately preceding the Constantinian has lately had some light thrown on it by H. P. L'Orange, in an article on 'Die Bildnisse der Tetrarchen' in *Acta Archaeologica*, II (1931), pt. i, pp. 29-52. This article treats in particular of busts and herms at Spalato and Salona and the porphyry groups at Venice and in the Vatican. It may profitably be studied in connexion with the present portrait by those wishing to penetrate into the origins of Byzantine sculpture.

⁴ Though already, from the first century onwards, they were in evidence, much more intensely, at Palmyra.

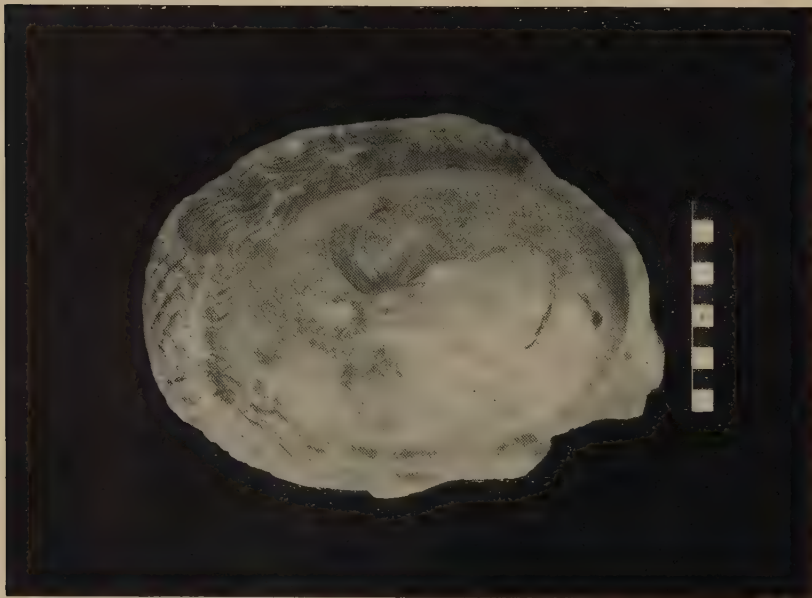
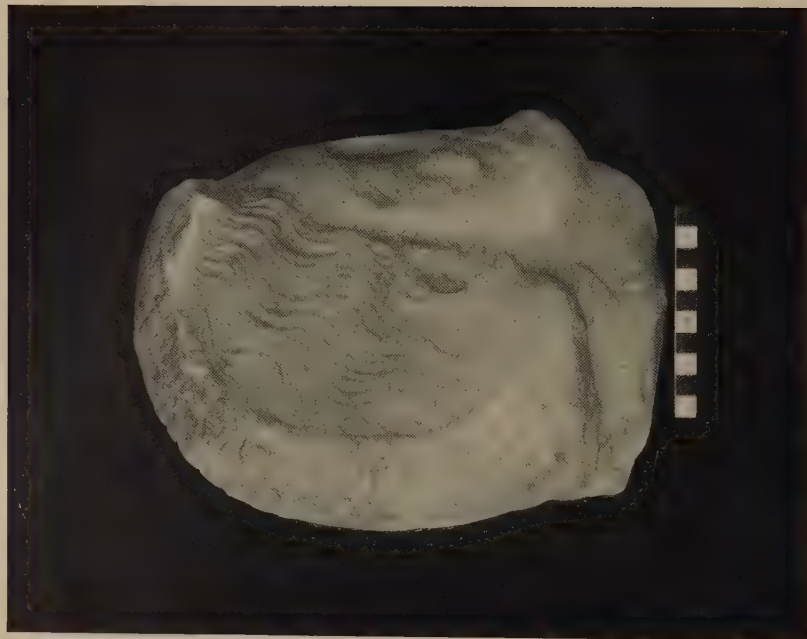
Since the above was written the Museum has acquired a second portrait of the same period and style (Catalogue, No. 31.324; Pl. IV (a) and (b)). This was purchased from a dealer in Jerusalem, who states that it was found at Askalon some twenty-five years ago, since when it has lain hidden in his cellars. It is 10 in. high, and of white marble. The nose has been completely destroyed, and the head is broken off under the chin so that the neck and bust are missing; but apart from these accidents the head is well preserved.

Technique and style are very similar to those of the 'Salonina' bust, e.g. the shallow treatment and arrangement of the hair, incised iris and pupil, and the all-over smoothness of surface. The features, however, differ considerably, e.g. the shallowness of the eyes, in contrast to the deeply set sockets and over-arching brows of the former bust, and the rounded cheeks as against the high cheek-bones of the other. Both may have originated in the same workshop, if not from the same hand. This second bust may be Otacilia Severa, wife of Philip I, who is said to have declared herself a Christian and to have assisted the Christian community not a little; the features are of a more classical type than those of the other. In any case, we have here a second portrait of the same Syrian house of Empresses, between A.D. 238 and 268. That they should both come from Askalon is testimony to the influence and popularity there of these particular Imperial ladies.

J. H. ILIFFE.



TWO THIRD-CENTURY PORTRAIT BUSTS



TWO THIRD-CENTURY PORTRAIT BUSTS

PRE-HELLENISTIC GREEK POTTERY IN PALESTINE

THERE exists a vague impression in some quarters that Greek imports into Palestine commenced only with the Hellenistic period. Some odd fragments of black glazed vessels from the early part or middle of the fourth century may have been observed here and there, but the general impression seems to be that these were accidents and exceptions; for have we not all been taught that Greek influence came East with Alexander? A consequence of this view has been that few students of Palestinian archaeology have thought Greek pottery worthy of their serious attention.

In view of the accuracy with which almost any Greek potsherd can be dated, and the need of bringing to bear on Palestinian remains every possible piece of evidence for cross-dating—even in the second and third periods of the Early Iron Age!—it would clearly be of great assistance to find such Greek sherds in stratified layers or sealed deposits. The object of the present note—based on the Greek sherds in the Museum and an examination of several mounds—is to draw attention to the chronological range of the examples known, and the considerable number of good vases of sixth- and fifth-century date represented.¹ It does not pretend to be more than a preliminary survey of isolated and perhaps somewhat incidental finds. It would have been, indeed, surprising if the activity of the Greek exporters of vases from the seventh to the early fourth century B.C. had entirely neglected Palestine, when their markets and colonies extended from South Russia to Spain, from the Alps to Egypt. While the Ionian Greeks were adventuring all over the Eastern Mediterranean, founding factories at Naukratis and Daphnae, while Asia Minor was inhabited by Greeks, Cyprus permeated with Greek colonies and legend, and Sardinia taking Greek scarabs in hundreds, while the spirit of Herodotus was abroad, is it likely that such an accessible and promising market as Palestine should have been overlooked?

The following list omits Mycenaean on the one hand and the stamped Hellenistic ware of Asia Minor, passing into Terra Sigillata, on the other. In other words, it is confined strictly to Greek painted pottery, the early experiments, and the Black- and Red-Figure styles. Some of the pieces have

¹ Such pieces rather go to contradict the statement, 'These are, however, by no means great works of art; the Hellenism that influenced Palestine was of an inferior brand', Macalister, *A Century of Excavation in Palestine*, p. 239. Pottery, architecture, coins, and sculpture (cf. the Alexander sarcophagus) seem to indicate that a proportion of the best *contemporary* work reached Palestine, i.e. Hellenism in Palestine may have been diluted quantitatively, but was in quality quite equal to the average of the day in Greece itself.

been previously published separately, in the *P.E.F. Quarterly Statement* and *Palestine Museum Bulletin*, No. 4. They are photographed here for convenience, and to supplement the previous publication (if any).

The earliest pieces are Nos. 1, 2, and 3, parts of a Rhodian pedestal plate and deinoi of the seventh century from Tell Jemmeh and Askalon. Apart from these pieces and one skyphos of Corinthian ware (No. 4), also from Askalon, there is so far a lack of seventh-century wares. The evidence, however, warrants us in believing that a considerable quantity of such vases did reach Palestine, and will be forthcoming when more attention is given to that period, especially in the sites along the coastal plain. At present the chronology of the post-Philistine period is extremely vague, down to the time of Alexander. A proper attention to the Greek pottery of these centuries should do what the Egyptian correspondences have done for the Bronze Age. It should no longer be possible for an archaeologist in Palestine to assume that Rhodian ware (like No. 1) can be put as late as 500 B.C., or a group of ordinary Black-Figure fragments 'represent the beginning of the fifth century'.

So far little attention has been paid to sites which are known to be mainly or largely of Greek period. Where any work has been done, as at Askalon or Tanturah, it has hardly gone beyond the stage of trenching a likely piece of ground, which promised not to be too expensive. Both these sites, however (to take them as examples), need to be excavated on a large scale and with a systematic programme extending over some years. Askalon is deeply buried under many feet of soil; Tanturah is a vast mound comparable in area even to Megiddo, and bristling with Hellenistic and Roman pottery, amongst which fifth- and sixth-century fragments are occasionally found, even in the small tests that have been made.

To students of Greek pottery some of the most interesting pieces will be Nos. 33-7 (Pl. IX(b), 1-5) from Tell Jemmeh,¹ about 7 miles south of Gaza in Southern Palestine. These are fragments of several of the late fifth-century Black-Figure cups, of which the best known are perhaps the Boeotian Kabeiric class. These fragments, if not actually of the Kabeiric series, are very closely related thereto. Three of the sherds have figures, and on Nos. 33 and 34 the scene is fairly clear: on 33 is shown Oedipus in conversation with the Sphinx, and on 34 a woman seated on a stool in front of a basket, possibly spinning. The former is obviously a representation of the famous Boeotian legend of Oedipus and the Sphinx, and serves to recall the fact that this late Black-Figure technique was peculiarly at home in Boeotian factories. This

¹ For other Greek vases from Tell Jemmeh, including some not acquired by the Museum, cf. Sir Flinders Petrie, *Gerar*, Pl. XLVI.

is the remotest find-spot for these late Black Figure wares yet recorded. That the figure of a sphinx on the Red Figure squat lekythos (No. 13) also comes from Tell Jemmeh (1927) is perhaps nothing but a coincidence; but being of exactly the same date (late fifth century) as the Black Figure fragments, it might perhaps set one wondering what link there could have been between Boeotia and South Palestine in the early days of the fourth century B.C. Would an answer be connected with the hegemony of Thebes?

LIST OF VASES OR FRAGMENTS

1. Mus. Cat. No. P. 1831. Pl. V (a), 1. Pedestal plate. Rhodian (Camiran, Milesian) ware. Late seventh century B.C. 0.135×0.085 m. From Askalon.

This piece (with Nos. 2 and 3) may have originated in Rhodes, Miletos, or Naukratis, most probably Rhodes. Phoenician influence is very likely to be seen in this style of Greek vase-painting. (Cf. *P.E.F. Quarterly Statement*, April 1923, Pl. IV, 17; *Bulletin of the Palestine Museum*, No. 4, Pl. VII, 6.)

2, 3. Mus. Cat. Nos. P. 1830, P. 1833. Pl. V (a), 3 and 5. Rim and foot fragments of *deinoi*. Rhodian ware. Late seventh century B.C. P. 1830, 0.15×0.067 m., from Tell Jemmeh; P. 1833, 0.089×0.07 m., from Askalon.

These three pieces, with No. 4, are the only seventh century vases represented. For Nos. 1, 2, and 3 cf., e.g., *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum*, Denmark, Fasc. 2, Pl. 75, 1 and 2; E. R. Price, *J.H.S.* XLIV, pp. 190 sqq., Pls. VII, 10; VIII, 1, &c.

4. Mus. Cat. No. B. 637. Pl. VI (c). Corinthian skyphos. Late seventh century B.C. From Askalon. Ht. 0.123 m.

Typical greenish-yellow soapy Corinthian clay. Black-varnished internally, and on upper half externally. Over the latter four broad reddish-brown circles, in pairs, run round the vase. The lower half plain except for a series of tall vertical rays rising from a broad line, all in black paint. On the upper side of the offset foot-ring a reddish-brown band; on the under side of foot, inside the ring, two narrow and one broad concentric circles enclosing a dot at centre. The skyphos is well and finely made, the paint applied rather carelessly. Fragmentary, about half missing. (Cf. *Bulletin of the Palestine Museum*, No. 4, Pl. VII, 3; *P.E.F. Quarterly Statement*, April 1923, Pl. II, 4.)

5. Mus. Cat. No. P. 195. Pl. V (b), 1. Fragment of small Attic Black Figure lekythos. Sixth century B.C. 0.076×0.059 m. From Gezer.

The scene represents Dionysus, wearing a crown of vine leaves, looking backwards whilst holding a lyre before him. He is seated in what seems to be a boat. Details in white and purple over the black, as well as incised. On

shoulder, lotus pattern. (Cf. Macalister, *The Excavation of Gezer*, Vol. III, Pl. CLXXVII, 23 (coloured reproduction).)

6. Mus. Cat. No. P. 1968. Pl. V (b), 3. Fragment of Attic Black Figure lekythos. Sixth century B.C. 0.115 × 0.09 m. From Askalon (top stratum).

The scene represents the lower part of Athena (probably) striding to r. Her foot is rendered in white over the black. Below, narrow purple bands over the black, or directly on the red clay. Incised lines rather coarse.

7. Mus. Cat. No. P. 1950. Pl. V (b), 4. Fragment of small Attic Black Figure lekythos. Sixth century B.C. 0.073 × 0.044 m. From Askalon (top stratum).

Decoration of palmettes. Lotus pattern on shoulder. Details in white, and incised.

8. Mus. Cat. No. P. 2322. Pl. V (b), 2. Fragment of small Attic Black Figure lekythos. Sixth century B.C. 0.057 × 0.04 m. From Tell Jemmeh, 1927.

Decoration of palmettes.

9. Mus. Cat. No. P. 2336. Pl. V (a), 2 and 4. Fragments of Attic skyphos. Sixth century B.C. Ht. 0.065 m. From Tell Jemmeh, 1927.

The fragments join, No. 4 at r. of No. 2. Upper part covered with black paint, over which narrow circular bands in purple. Below, decoration of vertical lines or rays in black on the red clay. Remains of horizontal loop handle. Interior painted black.

This skyphos is of typically red Attic clay, in contrast to No. 4 (Corinthian).

10. Mus. Cat. No. P. 2354. Pl. V (b), 5. Fragment of Attic Black Figure kylix. Sixth century B.C. 0.05 × 0.024 m. From Tell Jemmeh, 1927.

The fragment shows a robed man seated to r., with part of a second figure before him. Incised details.

11. Mus. Cat. No. P. 2346. Pl. VI (a) and (b). Fragments of small Attic Black Figure lekythos. Sixth century B.C. From Tell Jemmeh, 1927.

Four gods in procession to r.: apparently in order from r., Hera, Ares, Hephaistos, Aphrodite. The interest is concentrated on the second figure (from r.), who appears to be gesticulating excitedly and attempting to draw his sword. His r. arm is grasped by the third figure (? Hephaistos), who wears a short tunic represented in white paint over the black. Aphrodite then brings up the rear. Owing to considerable gaps in the vase, this interpretation is not certain; but the attitude and style of all the figures are thoroughly familiar, and belong to the regular *répertoire* of mid sixth century Attic vase painters. The third figure, with his short tunic, his protruding 'bun' of hair at the back, and his pronounced 'kallipygic' tendencies, is evidently intended for some comic personage, such as Heracles or Hephaistos.

Details overpainted in white, and rendered by incised lines. The remains of the vase consist only of two fragments. Original height of vase, *c.* 0.16 m.

12. Mus. Cat. No. 32.307. Pl. VIII (b). Red Figure lekythos. About 480 B.C. Orig. ht. *c.* 0.2 m. From a cemetery near the Castle at Atlit, found in separate pieces in rock-cut tombs L/21, L/21B, and L/23, in 1931.

The vase is fragmentary and has been restored. The principal figure, however, is fairly complete and well preserved; her pose and the style of her drapery are sufficient to date the vase to the early part of the fifth century. She is clad in an Ionic chiton and himation, and is running to r., her head looking directly backwards, with its l. profile exposed to the spectator. Her l. arm swings forward and her r. backwards as she runs. Her hair is confined in a *sakkos*. Archaism is noticeable in the combination of head looking to (spectator's) l., trunk facing, and legs to r. in the direction she is going; the regular spread-out style of the early Red Figure painters, with the impossible anatomical joins concealed under the drapery; and the immature rendering of the drapery itself. Originally there may have been a Silenos chasing her, to account for her running. There is room for such a figure, in the familiar crouching-running position, on the parts missing.

Around under shoulder, a maeander between black lines. On shoulder, palmettes connected by wavy stems in black on the red ground. At base of neck, a small tongue pattern encircling neck. The obverse is the side nearest to the user when the vase is held in the l. hand; thus the design is wholly confined to this area, and the maeander above ceases at the other side.

For further details of the finding of this vase, and the interesting contents (including green jasper scarabs of the Tharros type with Heracles as archer, &c.) of the tombs in question, cf. C. N. Johns, 'Excavations at Atlit: The South-Eastern cemetery', in *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities*, Vol. II, 1932 (to appear shortly).

13. Mus. Cat. No. P. 1597. Pl. VI(d). Part of Red Figure squat lekythos. About 420-410 B.C. 0.065 x 0.053 m. From Tell Jemmeh, 1927.

Decoration shows a sphinx seated to l., its tail raised in a backward curve, and wings outspread. Below, a line reserved in the (red) colour of the clay. Down the front edge of the wings, near the edge of the fragment, a row of fine dots in brownish-black paint. Restored from three fragments. It has a foot-ring which, with the under side of base, is left in the colour of the clay.

The style is the Late Free Style, as on most of the extant squat lekythoi of this shape, which was favoured by the Meidias painter and his fellows. Cf. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases*, III, E 698; Walters, *Hist. Anc. Pottery*, I, Pl. XLII;

Milchhoefer, *Jahrbuch*, 1894, pp. 57 ff., &c. These attractive squat lekythoi are probably the tiny gems turned out by the best craftsmen during intervals in the production of larger *chefs-d'œuvre*. The quality of their painting is usually first rate, and the vases frequently appeal more than the larger ones of the period in virtue of their greater simplicity.

14. Mus. Cat. No. P. 1598. Pl. VII (a), 1 and 3. Two fragments of moulded Red Figure kantharos, in form of male head with goat's ears. About 475 B.C. 0.105 x 0.06 m. From Tell Jemmeh.

The face has been painted red, the hair yellow, both colours being preserved to a considerable extent. The upper part of the cup was almost cylindrical, flaring outwards slightly at the top, and was probably turned separately, the lower part being moulded. The upper part is painted black on the inside, and had as usual a Red Figure scene on the outside. Unfortunately, too little remains to reconstruct the scene, but from the leg of a galloping horse on one fragment and the attitude of the horse's and man's legs on the other it is clear that some active and lively scene of men and horses was the subject: perhaps some game or contest, if the object under the horse's belly on the fragment Pl. VII (a), 1, is a ball. The scene is bounded below by a band of tongue pattern and dots in black. The point where one handle sprang off is just visible at the upper left of the smaller fragment.

This type of kantharos, moulded in the form of a human or animal head, with a cylindrical top bearing a Red Figure scene, was very popular with Attic potters during the first third of the fifth century, cf. Perrot & Chipiez, *Hist. de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, X, p. 748, Pl. 23; ib., pp. 750-3; Beazley, *J.H.S.*, XLIX (1929), pp. 38-78; *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases*, III, p. 372, E 784; *Cat. of Greek Vases at Toronto* (Royal Ont. Mus.), No. 358, and reff. there quoted. The drawing on the present vase is precise and accurate, the style free and vigorous. The painted scene on the upper part was evidently of equal importance to the modelled head, not subsidiary to it, as on earlier vases of this kind. Both painting and modelling have lost almost all traces of archaism: they may be dated, then, to shortly after the Persian War. Procles, Charinus, and Calliades in Attica were especially given to producing this type of vase; the Brygos painter seems to have been fond of decorating them. There is, perhaps, hardly enough of the subject of the present vase left to determine for certain the painter.

15. Mus. Cat. No. 31.232. Pl. VII (a), 2. Part of neck and shoulder of Red Figure lekythos. C. 475-450 B.C. Orig. diam. 0.087 m. From a burial at Samu'.

On the shoulder, five palmettes, with slender stems and spirals in black; small

dots in black at intervals around palmettes. On lower part of neck, a tongue pattern between two narrow black bands. Just below shoulder, a double row of dots in black between one black line above and one or more below. Neck painted black above tongue pattern.

This lekythos is probably one of the considerable number associated with the 'Painter of the Bowdoin Box' (Beazley, *Attic Red Figure Vases in American Museums*, pp. 70-2; *Attische Vasenmaler*, pp. 138-143). The shoulder decoration at least suggests the same style, which, though inclined to be careless, was full of character. Cf. also *Cat. of Greek Vases at Toronto* (Royal Ont. Mus.), No. 366.

Found in a burial with Hebrew sherds of c. 800 B.C. and one Mycenaean sherd(?).

16. Mus. Cat. No. P. 2319. Pl. VII (a), 5. Fragment of neck of Red Figure column krater. About 460-450 B.C. 0.055 x 0.039 m. From Tell Jemmeh, 1927.

This type of large krater with column handles and panel decoration flourished about the middle of the fifth century. For examples cf. *J.H.S.*, XXXVIII (1918), p. 33, Fig. 5; *Cat. of Greek Vases at Toronto*, No. 364. The present fragment, from the neck, shows a band of lotus buds with interlacing stems. They were amongst the favourite Attic vases exported to Italy, where they occur fairly often in Etruscan tombs. It is interesting to find them also travelling to South Palestine.

17. Mus. Cat. No. P. 2351. Pl. VII (a), 4. Fragment of lower part of large Red Figure amphora or hydria. About 425 B.C. 0.066 x 0.043 m. From Tell Jemmeh, 1927.

The fragment, though small, shows that the vase was of fine red clay with beautiful, brilliant black glaze both inside and out. The upper edge of the fragment just includes the border beneath the main scene, consisting of a bold pattern of alternating broken maeanders and dotted oblique crosses.

18. Mus. Cat. No. P. 1604. Pl. VII (a), 6. Fragment of Red Figure amphora or krater with man and horse's hind quarters. About 440 B.C. 0.1 x 0.046 m. From Tell Jemmeh.

A man, draped, and holding or leaning on a knotted stick, stands just behind a horse. The scene was evidently executed in the large fine style, reminiscent of wall-paintings, represented by Hermonax, Polygnotus (the vase-painter), and other masters of the grand manner, about 450-430 B.C. This 'Early Fine Style' was much influenced by contemporary works in architecture, sculpture, or large-scale wall-painting.

19. Mus. Cat. No. P. 1605. Pl. VII (b), 3. Fragment of Red Figure kylix. About 500-480 B.C. 0.09 x 0.045 m. From Tell Jemmeh.

Remains of the scene on interior: a man reclining on a couch, all enclosed within a circle reserved in red.

20. Mus. Cat. No. P. 2872. Pl. VII(b), 2. Fragment of Red Figure amphora. About 480–460 B.C. 0.079 × 0.06 m. From Tantura.

Lower border of scene: two men facing one another (one foot of either only appears, with a stick between).

21. Mus. Cat. No. P. 1600. Pl. VII (b), 4. Fragment of Red Figure amphora. About 460–450 B.C. 0.048 × 0.41 m. From Tell Jemmeh.

Leg and foot outlined against a piece of drapery; insufficient to determine the subject.

22. Mus. Cat. No. P. 2875. Pl. VII (b), 5. Fragment of Red Figure amphora. About 450 B.C. 0.07 × 0.042 m. From Tantura.

A man's bent leg from knee to foot with a serpent (?) near it; portions of two draped figures at either side. The execution is good and the style developed; e.g. the folds of the drapery are vigorously and well rendered. An interesting feature is two ancient holes, which may have been rivet holes (as often), or more probably here to make the sherd into a loom weight.

23. Mus. Cat. No. P. 1602. Pl. VII (b), 6. Fragment of Red Figure krater. About 450 B.C. 0.026 × 0.035 m. From Tell Jemmeh.

The fragment is from just below the rim (at top in photograph), which is slightly everted. Decoration consists of a portion of a flying cloak, of developed style. The vase must have been large, as the walls are thick and the curvature slight.

24. Mus. Cat. No. P. 196. Pl. IX(a), 3. Fragment of Red Figure lekythos. About 475–460 B.C. 0.067 × 0.055 m. From Tell el Hesi.

The decoration shows a winged female figure standing to r., holding out her l. hand which may have grasped a torch. She wears a long chiton, with black band around the edge of the sleeve. Her hair falls in a long plait down her back and a stray curl over her shoulder. Around her head it is confined in a *stephane*. The style is still somewhat archaic, the eye being drawn full face; chin and mouth also exhibit signs of a fairly early date in the fifth century. Above the figure, and just below the shoulder of the vase, is a maeander frieze. The lekythos was probably analogous to No. 15, and belonged to the class with a single figure much favoured by the 'Painter of the Bowdoin Box'. Cf. No. 15, and reff. *ad loc.*

25. Mus. Cat. No. P. 2328. Pl. VII (b), 1. Fragment of white-ground lekythos. Mid fifth century B.C. 0.035 × 0.032 m. From Tell Jemmeh, 1927.

Apparently several rather crudely executed animals below a tongue pattern immediately underlying the shoulder. In black on a white ground.

26. Mus. Cat. No. P. 2320. Pl. VII (b), 8. Fragment of white-ground lekythos. Mid fifth century B.C. 0.035×0.058 m. From Tell Jemmeh, 1927.

On shoulder, double tongue pattern. Below shoulder, maeander between two bold brownish-black bands on either side.

27. Mus. Cat. No. V. 1762. Pl. VIII (a). Red Figure lekythos. Orig. ht. c. 0.32 m. About 450 B.C. Petrie argues, from the find-spot, for a date not later than 457 B.C. (*Gerar*, p. 4). From Tell Jemmeh.

At r. one woman clad in chiton and himation and wearing a *stephane* of laurel leaves stands before another who is seated to r., clad in a chiton; the latter holds out her hands to receive a jewel-box held out to her by the former. The chair of the seated woman has fine curving legs in the contemporary Attic style and an elaborate curved back and shoulder-rest. Both women wear ear-rings, the seated one round, the standing one drop-shaped; the seated one also has in her hair at the front a *stephane* or diadem. The right leg of the seated woman is shown appearing through her drapery.

Eyes are drawn correctly in profile. The drapery is executed with great freedom and exquisite fineness, and reflects the skill attained by Attic artists of the Pheidian school. The subject is one familiar on the mid fifth century grave stelai.

On the neck, a tongue pattern; on shoulder, three finely executed, symmetrically arranged palmettes, enveloped in winding tendrils terminating in spirals. Immediately below shoulder, a frieze of maeander and diagonal cross with short strokes dropping from the border into its angles. Below figures, a short maeander frieze. Neck, handle, and foot with parts of body restored, but most of the figures are original.

Cf. *Bulletin of the Palestine Museum*, No. 4, Pl. VII, 11; *P.E.F. Quarterly Statement*, July 1927, pp. 131-2; Petrie, *Gerar*, Pl. XLVI, 4.

28. Mus. Cat. No. P. 2874. Pl. VII (b), 7. Fragment of bell-krater of South Italian style. Fourth century B.C. 0.068×0.048 m. From Tantura.

Upper part of a female figure with spread wings. The style is South Italian and degenerate, e.g. the eye is almond-shaped with a dot in centre; the mouth and chin also very crude. On the inside, just below lip, a band reserved in the (red) colour of the clay.

29. Mus. Cat. No. P. 2329. Pl. IX (a), 1. Fragment of rim of bell-krater. Early fourth century B.C. 0.13×0.055 m. From Tell Jemmeh, 1927.

The familiar wreath of laurel leaves encircles the rim on the exterior. Painted black internally. The vase is probably of Attic workmanship: cf. the one lately found at Olynthus (*A.J.A.*, XXXIII (1929), p. 56 and Fig. 7).

30. Mus. Cat. No. P. 2338. Pl. IX (a), 6. Fragment of rim of bell-krater. Early fourth century B.C. 0.15×0.045 m. From Tell Jemmeh, 1927.

Around, under rim, externally, a wreath of laurel leaves. Red band reserved in colour of the clay on inner edge of rim.

Probably of Attic workmanship.

31. Mus. Cat. No. P. 2348. Pl. IX (a), 2 and 4. Fragments of kantharos of 'Gnathia' ware. Third century B.C. From Tell Jemmeh, 1927.

Orig. ht. *c.* 0.2 m. Fragment No. 2 is from the mouth and shoulder, No. 4 from the base. Around, just above shoulder, ran a wreath pattern in white, immediately above a tongue pattern on shoulder. The body was decorated with vertical panels of herring-bone in white, bordered in part below by a double band of vine leaves. The whole vase, inside and out, is covered with fine, lustrous black glaze, except for the patterns reserved in the (red) colour of the clay. The white details are added over the black.

This 'Gnathia' ware is so called from Gnathia, in Apulia, where the earliest large finds of it were made. It was produced widely in Italy during the third century B.C.; its polychrome effect, in combination with the essential Greek black-and-red technique, represents a last effort of true painting to maintain its hold in face of the increasing popularity of moulded and stamped decoration. It is a local example in Magna Graecia of a tendency widespread in the Hellenistic world.

Cf., e.g., Walters, *Hist. of Anc. Pottery*, I, pp. 487 ff.; Brit. Museum, *Cat. of Vases*, IV, p. 23; Pagenstecher, *Arch. Anz.*, 1909, pp. 1-17.

Such a vase as this is fully in accord with the mass of Hellenistic pottery found in Palestine. Although the majority of the Sigillata so far seems to come from Asia Minor, yet a number of pieces are Italian. The present piece shows that already in the third century B.C. Magna Graecia was definitely contributing her vase-products to Palestine. Similarly, 'Gnathia' vases occur in Egypt: cf. Edgar, *Cat. Général du Musée du Caire, Vases grecques*, LVI, Pl. XIII, Nos. 26.220 to 26.223; and in Melos.

32. Mus. Cat. No. P. 2873. Pl. IX (a), 5. Fragment of shoulder of *lekane* or deep bowl. Third century B.C. 0.06×0.037 m. From Tantara.

The fragment has a pattern of vine leaves in white paint over brownish-black, springing from a wavy stem represented by an incised line. Below, on

body (at upper edge in photograph), remains of stamped or moulded decoration. Interior covered with red glaze.

A piece of Hellenistic white-painted ware, perhaps made in Asia Minor.

33. Mus. Cat. No. P. 2352. Pl. IX (b), 1. Fragment of Black Figure stemless kylix. Late fifth century B.C. 0.078 × 0.055 m. From Tell Jemmeh, 1927.

Scene showing Oedipus leaning on his staff, talking to the Sphinx; all between palmettes.

34. Mus. Cat. No. P. 2317. Pl. IX (b), 2. Fragment of Black Figure stemless kylix. Late fifth century B.C. 0.067 × 0.055 m. From Tell Jemmeh, 1927.

Scene showing seated female figure to l. before a basket on the floor; she is probably spinning. Behind her a palmette.

35. Mus. Cat. No. P. 2345. Pl. IX (b), 4. Fragment of Black Figure stemless kylix. Late fifth century B.C. 0.047 × 0.043 m. From Tell Jemmeh, 1927.

Upper part of figure with arm apparently akimbo. Behind, a palmette.

36. Mus. Cat. No. P. 2339. Pl. IX (b), 3. Fragment of Black Figure stemless kylix. Late fifth century B.C. 0.05 × 0.035 m. From Tell Jemmeh, 1927.

Decoration: a palmette; beginnings of a figure (?) at r.

37. Mus. Cat. No. P. 1952. Pl. IX (b), 5. Fragment of Black Figure stemless kylix. Late fifth century B.C. 0.039 × 0.04 m. From Askalon.

Decoration: a palmette, and commencement of some design at r.

The last five pieces, Nos. 33–37, as indicated above, are of peculiar interest. They all belong to a class of Attic or Boeotian ware in which the Black Figure technique lingered on for 130 years or more after it had been abandoned in the more progressive Athenian potteries, until at least about 400 B.C. The variety of these late Black Figure vases best known hitherto is that called 'Kabeiric', owing to its having been found largely at the Theban Kabeirion. But there are various other classes, having many characteristics in common with the Kabeiric ware, e.g. a fondness for a comic scene or humorous treatment of well-known Greek myths, a uniform low quality of skill in drawing, and a preference for cups with either a very short stem or none at all. The Boeotian potteries were probably only provincial branches of the Attic industry. This late Black Figure pottery has been most fully studied by Professor P. N. Ure and Mrs. A. D. Ure; cf., e.g., the former's *Sixth and Fifth Century Pottery from Rhitsona*, passim, and various articles in *J.H.S.*; and the latter's article in *J.H.S.*, XLVI (1926), pp. 54–62, Pls. II–IV, on 'Floral Black-figured Cups at Schimatari'.

Few of these vases have been found outside Greece.¹ It is, therefore, of con-

¹ One from Cyprus: cf. Murray, Smith and Walters, *Brit. Mus. Excavations in Cyprus*, 1900, p. 76, Fig. 139, grave 26; one from Syria, in Ashmolean (? early 5th cent., Attic), from 'a pit grave

siderable interest to find them at Tell Jemmeh and Askalon; especially at the former, some 7 miles south of Gaza, on the fringes of the Arabian desert. Professor Petrie argues a Greek settlement of some strength during the sixth and fifth centuries, at first trading with Daphnae.

A Boeotian connexion for No. 33 may be seen in the peculiarly Boeotian legend depicted on it: nothing less than the interview of Oedipus and the Sphinx. The fondness for this particular scene is indicated by its occurrence twice, if not three times, on these late Black Figure cups at Tell Jemmeh. The further examples were not acquired by the Museum, but are figured in Petrie, *Gerar*, Pl. XLVI; cf. *ib.*, p. 20.

All the fragments here illustrated are painted black on the inside, and have a black band externally round the rim, which is offset and slightly concave, except in No. 37. Nos. 33, 36, and 37 have a narrow band reserved in the colour of the clay on the inner edge of the lip.

As already stated, the above list is not exhaustive but representative, and is almost entirely confined to pre-Hellenistic Greek vases. Two third century pieces are included (Nos. 31 and 32), as representing the old tradition of painting rather than the specifically Hellenistic technique of moulded ware. The amount of classical Greek pottery that emerges is notable; it is clear from this brief survey that Greek influence and products in Palestine were considerable long before the days of Alexander the Great. Yet the fact should not surprise us; there were flourishing Greek colonies in Egypt at this time, and an exact parallel occurs in the case of Roman Britain. Twenty-five years ago it used to be taken for granted that in the year A.D. 43 the Invasion of Claudius made a clean and sudden break in the culture of that country. Since then excavation and study have taught us that the Romanization of Britain had been in progress long before this (half a century at least) through the channels of trade and ordinary commercial intercourse. In like manner, excavation and attention particularly directed to the period c. 900–300 B.C. in Palestine seem likely to prove that the Macedonian Conquest only served to intensify a development which was already well established. Roman civilization spread to the remoter and less known Britain from Gaul; Egypt may have provided the bridge over which contacts with Greece were first established in Palestine.

For the chronology of the Early Iron Age cross-dating with Greek pottery would provide a standard inferior to none, and supply a need keenly felt by all students of the period.

J. H. ILIFFE.

of the latest period (6th–4th cent.) at Deve Huyuk on the left bank of the Sajur in N. Syria', a reference I owe to Professor Ure, who regards the present fragments as dating from the third quarter of the fifth century, and of Attic origin.



PRE-HELLENISTIC POTTERY IN PALESTINE



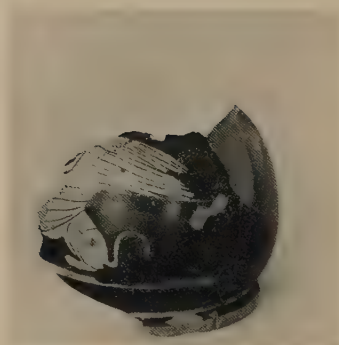
a



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PRE-HELLENISTIC POTTERY IN PALESTINE



b



a

PRE-HELLENISTIC POTTERY IN PALESTINE

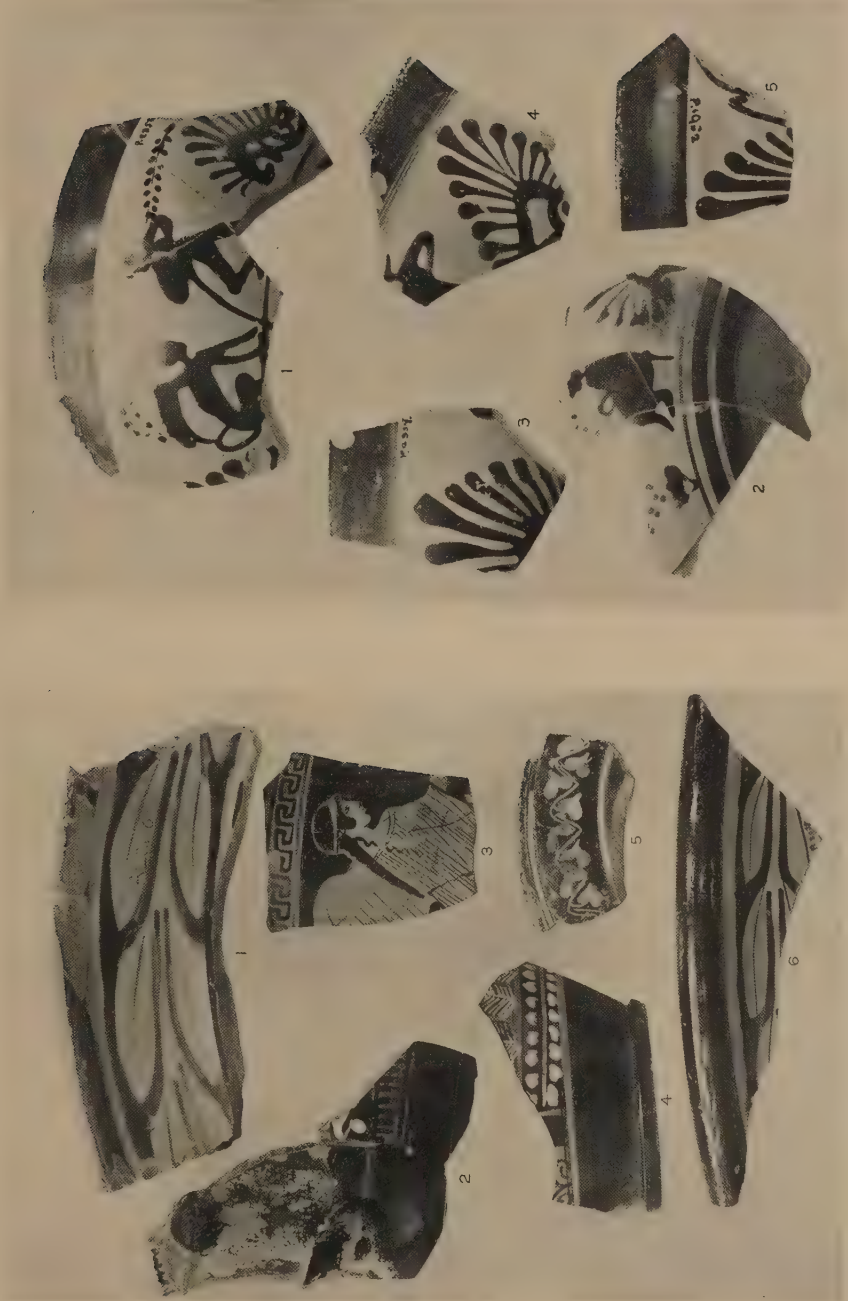


a



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PRE-HELLENISTIC POTTERY IN PALESTINE



b

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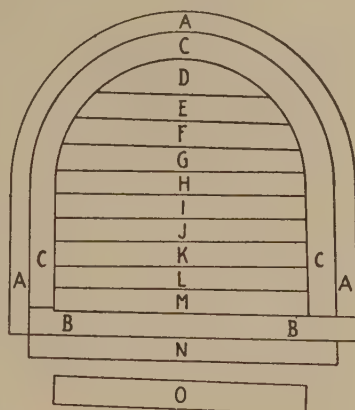
PRE-HELLENISTIC POTTERY IN PALESTINE

TWO INSCRIPTIONS OF BAYBAR

I

FUNERARY shrine, to the south of Jericho, locally known as Maqām¹ an-Nabī Mūsā, marked on the Palestine Exploration Fund Map, Sheet XVIII, P.t. *Neby Mûsa*.

FOUNDER'S TEXT 668 A.H. Slab of marble embedded in the western wall of the main room, to the left of the door leading to the mausoleum. The form of the stone is reminiscent of the *sigma*-shaped table, with its bevelled frame and sunk central part. Maximum dimensions measured on squeeze 90 cm. by 92 cm. Elegant mamluk naskhi with many diacritical points and a few differentiating signs, the filling ornaments sometimes taking the shape of leaves. Below this inscription is an additional slab of marble with one line of text [O] written in rather crude characters. The sequence of lines is best seen in the sketch. Unpublished,² cf. Plate X.



¹ This appellation is used by town-folk; peasants call it 'Mazār'.

² So far as I can see it has not even been mentioned in the rather voluminous literature dealing with the shrine and the pilgrimage to the tomb of Moses. The most important passages may be quoted here: Fabri, *Evagatorium*, ed. Hassler, Vol. II, pp. 167, 175; Tschudi, *Reyss und Bilgerfahrt zum Heyligen Grab*, St. Gallen, 1606, p. 322; Greffin Affagart, *Relation de Terre Sainte* (1533-1534), Paris, 1902, p. 127; Quaresmius, *Terrae Sanctae Elucidatio*, Antwerp, 1639, Vol. II, Lib. VI, Cap. III, p. 736; Nau, *Voyage nouveau de la Terre Sainte*, 1679, pp. 344-55; d'Arvieux, *Mémoires*, Paris, 1735, Vol. II, p. 195 f.; Pococke, *A Description of the East*, London, 1745, Vol. II, p. 30; Lartet, *Exploration géologique*, p. 308 f.; G. H. v. Schubert, *Reise in das Morgenland*, 1838-9, Vol. III, p. 95; Ritter, *Erdkunde, Westasien*, 1850, Vol. II, pp. 486, 489, 560, 605; E. W. Schulz, *Reise in das Gelobte Land im Jahre 1851* (3rd ed.), 1854, p. 169; Tobler, *Denksblätter aus Jerusalem*, 1853, p. 723; Seetzen, *Reisen*, 1854, Vol. II, p. 271; Rey, *Voyage dans le Haouran* (1857-58), p. 274; Sepp, *Jerusalem*, Schaffhausen, 1863, p. 684 f.; de Noroff, *Pèlerinage en Terre Sainte de l'igoumène russe Daniel*, St.-Petersbourg, 1864, p. 62 f., note; Clermont-Ganneau, 'The Jerusalem Researches' (Letter No. X, 3rd May), *QSt.*, 1874, p. 171 (revised, with addition of three drawings, in *Archaeological Researches in Palestine*, II, pp. 47-50); de Luynes, *Voyage d'exploration à la Mer Morte*, 1874, Vol. I, p. 77; Schick and Marti, 'Die alten Lauren und Klöster in der Wüste Juda', *ZDPV*, Vol. III, 1880, p. 16; Conder and Kitchener, *Survey of Western Palestine, Memoirs*, Vol. III, p. 220; Post, 'Narrative of a Scientific Expedition in the Trans-Jordanic Region in the Spring of 1886', *QSt.*, 1888, p. 178; van Kasteren, 'Aus der Umgegend von Jerusalem', *ZDPV*, Vol. XIII, 1890, pp. 91, 118; Lievin de Hamme, *Guide-indicateur des sanctuaires et lieux*

A بسمه . . . إِنَّمَا يَعْمُرُ مَسَاجِدَ اللَّهِ مَنْ آمَنَ بِاللَّهِ وَالْيَوْمِ الْآخِرِ

أمر بإنشاء هذا المقام الكريم على ضريح موسى الكليم عليه الصلوة
والتسليم مولانا السلطان الملك الظاهر السيد الأ

B جَلَّ الْعَالَمِ الْعَادِلِ الْمُؤَيَّدِ الْمُظْفَرِ الْمَنْصُورِ رُكْنِ الدُّنْيَا وَالْدِّينِ سُلْطَانِ

C الْإِسْلَامِ وَالْمُسْلِمِينَ سَيِّدِ الْمُلُوكِ وَالسُّلَاطِينِ فَاتِحِ الْأَمْصَارِ مَبِيدِ الْفَرَنْجِ وَالتَّاتَارِ
مُقْتَلَعِ الْقَلَاعِ مِنْ أَيْدِي الْكُفَّارِ وَارِثِ الْمُلْكِ سُلْطَانِ الْعَرَبِ

D وَالْعَجَمِ وَالتَّرْكِ

E إِسْكَندَرَ الزَّمَانَ صَاحِبَ الْقُرْآنِ مُسْتَرِ

F دَ ضَوَالِ الْإِسْلَامِ مِنْ أَيْدِي الطُّغْيَانِ مَلِكِ

G الْبَحْرَيْنِ مَالِكِ الْقِبْلَتَيْنِ خَادِمِ الْحَرَمَيْنِ الشَّرِيفَيْنِ

H الْأَمْرِ بِبَيْعَةِ الْخُلَيفَتَيْنِ أَبُو الْفَتْحِ بَيْبُرس

I قَسِيمِ أَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ خَلْدِ اللَّهِ سُلْطَانِهِ وَذَلِكَ

J بَعْدَ عَوْدِ رُكَابِهِ الْعَزِيزِ مِنَ الْحِجِّ الْمَبْرُورِ وَتَوَجُّهِهِ

K لِزِيَارَةِ الْقُدْسِ الشَّرِيفِ تَقَبُّلِ اللَّهِ مِنْهُ فِي نِيَابَةِ

L عَبْدِهِ وَوَلِيِّهِ الْأَمِيرِ الْكَبِيرِ الْمُشَاغِرِ جَمَالَ الدِّينِ

M آقُوشِ النُّجَيْبِيِّ كَافِلِ الْمَمَالِكِ الشَّامِيَّةِ أَعَزَّهُ اللَّهُ

historiques de la Terre-Sainte, 4th ed., 1897, Vol. II, p. 276; Trusen, 'Vom Mosesberg zum Mosesgrab', *Palästina-jahrbuch*, Vol. IV, 1908, pp. 98 ff., Pl.; Spoer, 'Das Nebi-Mūsa-Fest', *ZDPV*, Vol. XXXII, 1909, pp. 207-21; R. Hartmann, 'Nebi Mūsa', *MuNDPV*, 1910, pp. 65-75; Abel, *Une croisière autour de la Mer Morte*, 1911, pp. 173-84; Kahle, 'Gebräuche bei den moslemischen Heiligtümern in Palästina', *Palästina-jahrbuch*, Vol. VIII, pp. 165 ff.; *La Palestine* . . . par des Professeurs de Notre-Dame de France à Jérusalem, 4th ed., 1922, p. 304; Canaan, 'Mohammedan Saints and Sanctuaries in Palestine', *JPOS*, Vol. IV, pp. 17, 75; Vol. VI, pp. 117 ff.; Vol. VII, pp. 66 f.; Z. Vilnay, 'Qibrē haq-qedōshīm', *Sēfer hash-shānā*, Vol. II, pp. 122-124.

N في شهور ثمان وستين وستمائة (من) الهجرة النبوية على صاحبها أفضل
الصلوة [. . .]

O بولاية العبد الفقير الى الله تعالى محمد بن رجال عفا الله عنه

... Qur'ān IX. 18 ... Ordered the construction of this honourable shrine over the tomb of Moses, who spoke with God ... our Lord, the Sultan al-Malik az-Zāhir ... Rukn ad-dunyā wa-d-dīn ... Abu-l-Faṭḥ Baybars, Associate of the Commander of the Faithful ... This (was done) after the return of his mighty following from the pious pilgrimage and his visit to Jerusalem, may God accept from him (this offering), during the Governorship of his servant and regent, the Great Amir, the Warden of the Marches, Jamāl ad-dīn Āqūsh an-Najībī, Viceroy of the Syrian provinces ... during the months (of the year) 668 of the Hijra of the Prophet (1269/70) ... Under the supervision of the servant yearning for God the Exalted, Muḥammad b. Raḥḥāl¹ ...

According to local tradition based on an interpretation of the well-known ḥadīth¹ ولو كنت ثم لأريتكم قبره الى جانب الطريق تحت الكثيب الأحمر ('had I been there I would have shown you his tomb to the side of the road below the heap of the red sand'), 'the heap of red sand' was identified with a red hill on the Jerusalem-Jericho road (kilometre 19.150), on the top of which the Crusaders' fort Turris rubea was built.² Consequently the tomb of Moses was located a few miles to the south-east on the other side of the road. Curiously enough this identification, which we should expect to have been common knowledge some time before 668 A.H., is not suggested in some of the most important commentaries, such as Nawawī³ or Suyūṭī,⁴ although both of them lived a considerable time after the erection of the shrine. Even Qaṣṭallānī, who knew of the existence of a tomb of Moses in the vicinity of Jericho, mentioned it among a number of other traditional tombs⁵ without de-

¹ Cf. Wensinck, *A Handbook of early Mohammedan Tradition*, p. 172.

² With regard to other locations of the tomb, cf. Qaṣṭallānī, l.c., *infra*; Gildemeister, *ZDMG*, Vol. XXXVI, 1882, p. 395; Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, p. 240 (quoting 'Alī al-Harawī), p. 533; Hartmann, l.c., p. 67.

³ *Sharḥ* to Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, chap. Faḍā'il, para. min faḍā'il Mūsā, ed. Bulāq, 1283, Vol. V, p. 131.

⁴ *Zahr ar-Rubā to Nasā'i*, *Sunan*, ed. Cairo, 1312, Vol. I, p. 296.

⁵ *Irshād* to Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, chap. Janā'iz, bāb 69, ed. Bulāq, 1267, Vol. II, p. 494.

وهذا ليس صريحاً في الأعلام بقبره الشريف ومن ثم حصل الاختلاف فيه ف قيل بالتيه وتيل بباب لَد بيت المقدس

او بدمشق او بواد بين بصرى والبلقاء او بمدين بين المدينة وبيت المقدس او باربعا وهي من الأرض المقدسة

ciding which was the genuine one, but in a later volume he supplemented his statement by saying that the tomb near Jericho had become better known.¹ Of other geographers who flourished after the erection of the shrine neither Ibn al-Wardī nor Abu-l-Fidā' mentions the tomb of Moses. Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī locates it—in accordance with a tradition preserved by Yāqūt²—on the Jabal Shaiḥān in the Balqā'.³ Dimishqī mentions it as situated to the east of Bait al-Maqdis which may refer to the Maqām as well as to any site in Trans-Jordan.⁴ The first Arab authority to mention the tomb as being situated near Jericho is Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, who travelled in Palestine more than half a century after the erection of the Maqām, and his description⁵ can be taken as evidence that he was unaware of the fact of a Muslim shrine having been built on the site. It hardly needs mentioning that in view of Deut. xxxiv. 6 Jews never venerated any site as the tomb of Moses.

Nearly a century passed before Baybars' work at 'Nabī Mūsā' was mentioned in literary sources. The oldest of them is al-Kutubī (died 764 A.H.), who gives a list of buildings erected or repaired by Baybars at the end of the latter's biography⁶ and says: 'and he built a domed chamber and a mosque over the tomb of Moses . . . and it is near *al-kathīb al-aḥmar*, and he endowed it with a waqf'.⁷ Suyūṭī,⁸ Muḥir ad-dīn,⁹ and 'Abd al-Ghanī an-Nābulṣī¹⁰ followed.¹¹

It has been suggested¹² that there was originally a Christian sanctuary on this

¹ Ib. chap. Anbiyā', bāb 31, Vol. V, p. 433. وقد اشتهر قبر بارئحا عند كتيب الأحمر انه قبر موسى

² s.v. سحجان III. 210, l. 4; and s.v. شحجان III. 346 (=Marāsid, II. 138); in the latter passage merely his death is mentioned and not his tomb; Yāqūt mentions also the other tomb of Moses near Damascus, II. 589, l. 21, without commenting on the incompatibility of these two statements.

³ *Masālik al-abṣār*, ed. Zeki Pasha, I. 176, l. 10.

⁴ Ed. Mehren, p. 81, l. 10: حجارة قبر موسى . . . شرقي بيت المقدس

⁵ Ed. Defrémery et Sanguinetti, I, p. 227, quoted by Hartmann, l.c., p. 67: وبمقرنة من بيت المقدس وأربحا موضع يعرف أيضا بالكتيب الأحمر تعظمه اليهود 'in the vicinity of Jerusalem and Jericho is a spot also known as "the heap of red sand" which Jews keep in great esteem'.

⁶ *Fawāt al-wafayāt*, I, pp. 89, l. ult.—90, l. 1.

⁷ وبني على قبر موسى . . . قبّة ومسجداً وهو عند الكتيب الأحمر ووقف عليها وقفاً

⁸ *The History of the Temple of Jerusalem*, translated by James Reynolds, p. 389 f.

⁹ *al-Uns al-jalīl*, pp. 93, l. 4 f., 423, l. 4b, 433, l. 18, 434, l. 17, 444, l. penult. (Sauvaire's translation, pp. 26, 217, 238, 240).

¹⁰ *Ar-riḥla al-quḍsiyya* (MS. in the Palestine Museum Library, p. 221, ZDMG, XXXVI, pp. 394 ff.).

¹¹ Three of the last five passages quoted in the preceding three notes are mentioned in R. Hartmann, 'Nabī Mūsā', *MuNDPV*, 1910, p. 67 f.; Muḥir ad-dīn and 'Abd al-Ghanī in Vilnay, l.c.; Muḥir ad-dīn has been quoted by many others as well (Conder and Kitchener, Clermont-Ganneau, Abel, Spoer, ll. cc., *supra*).

¹² To the references quoted by Abel, l.c., p. 183, n. 3, the following should be added: de Noroff, Clermont-Ganneau, de Luyne, Survey of Western Palestine, Lievin, Spoer, Canaan, ll. cc., *supra*.

spot, and that the Arabs have turned it into the present shrine. This theory is untenable for a number of reasons. The words *أمر بإنشاء*, 'ordered the construction of' in line (A) are hardly ever used for anything but a new structure; such few fragments of earlier architecture as are to be found in the shrine are spolia similar to those we find in buildings of undoubted Muslim origin. In a text mentioning the tomb of Moses in the vicinity of Jericho before Baybars built the shrine the tomb is described as having no structure above it.¹

Jamāl ad-dīn Āqūsh² an-Najībī,³ originally a mamluk of al-Malik aṣ-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb, later his major-domo, passed into the service of Baybars, on the 19th Dhu-l-Qa'da 658 (26th October 1260), appointed major-domo for a second time, in 660 Viceroy of Syria, dismissed from office in Rabi' I, 670, died the 5th Rabi' I,⁴ 677 (27th July 1278) as septuagenarian.

Line A. *Taslīm* instead of *salām* is to be explained as a rhyme-word to *kalīm*.

Lines C-H. The titles given to Baybars in this text are known from some of his other inscriptions,⁵ such as Damascus, 659 A.H.,⁶ Cairo 660,⁷ Cairo 665,⁸ Cairo 666,⁹ Ramleh 666,¹⁰ Homs, Rabi' I 666,¹¹ Ḥiṣn al-Akrād 669,¹² Lydda, Ramaḍān 671,¹³ Yebna, Rabi' I 673,¹⁴ Safad,¹⁵ and especially that of Kerak,¹⁶ in

¹ *Masālik al-abṣār*, ed. Zeki Pasha, I, p. 176, ll. 11 ff.

² Abu-l-Fidā', ed. Reiske, V. 30 (ed. Constantinople, IV, p. 7, l. 14 = Ibn al-Wardī, II, p. 220, l. ult.); Dhahabī, *Duwal al-islām*, Hyderabad, II, pp. 133, l. 10, 138, l. 2 f.; Mufaḍḍal, ed. Blochet, pp. 104, 124, 184; Ibn Ḥabīb, pp. 248, 264; Ṣāliḥ b. Yahyā (2nd ed.), pp. 57, 58, 66, 133 (in his commentary Cheikho mistook Ā. al-Najībī for Ā. al-Afram); Quatremère, *Sultans Mamlouks*, I a, pp. 117, 188, I b, pp. 13, 26, 31, 74, 94, 167; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Manhal*, s.v. (MS. Paris, Ar. 2069, fol. 5^r, v); Ibn Iyās, I, p. 99, l. 6; Sauvage, 'Description de Damas' (in *Journal Asiatique*, 9^e série, t. III, 1894), pp. 444 f., 499 f., nn. 339, 340 (quoting besides 'Ilmawī also Dhahabī, Ṣafadī, Ṣaqqā'i, and Ibn Kathīr); Zambaur, *Manuel de Généalogie et de Chronologie*, p. 30.

³ In Abu-l-Fidā', ll. cc., the nisba is spelt an-Najmī; the correct form has been established by other authors quoted in the preceding note and by Dhahabī, *al-Moshtabih*, ed. de Jong, s.v., p. 70.

⁴ *Manhal*, l.c.: Rabi' II.

⁵ I wish to repeat here my thanks to Professor Wiet and M. J. Sauvaget who have most obligingly supplemented my list of inscriptions of Baybars, the former from the manuscript of his *Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe*, the latter by copying an unpublished text in Damascus.

⁶ van Berchem, *Inscriptions Arabes de Syrie*, pp. 49 ff., Pl. VI, 11.

⁷ *CIA. Égypte*, I, No. 74, pp. 118 ff.

⁸ *CIA. Égypte*, I, No. 76, p. 121; No. 128, p. 189 f.

⁹ *CIA. Égypte*, I, No. 79, p. 122 f.

¹⁰ van Berchem, *Inscriptions Arabes de Syrie*, pp. 57 ff., Pl. VII, 3.

¹¹ van Berchem, *Inscriptions Arabes de Syrie*, p. 55 f.

¹² Sobernheim, *CIA. Syrie du Nord*, Nos. 4, 5, 6.

¹³ Clermont-Ganneau, *Recueil d'Archéologie orientale*, I. 262 ff.; 'Notes d'épigraphie et d'histoire arabes', *J.A.* 8^e sér., t. XII, 1888, pp. 305 ff.; *Archaeological Researches in Palestine*, II. 110 ff.

¹⁴ Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches in Palestine*, II. 177 ff.

¹⁵ Defrémery, *Mémoires d'histoire orientale*, II. 364; Quatremère, *SM.* I b, p. 48.

¹⁶ Sauvage in de Luynes, *Voyage à la Mer Morte*, II, p. 199.

which most of them occur. Two titles appear in a slightly different form, namely *سلطان العرب والعجم والترك* and *مالك القبليتين* which we find elsewhere as *صاحب القبليتين* and *سيد العرب والعجم والترك*. Of those not mentioned in the texts quoted above the following are known from other inscriptions of Bahrī Mamluks *اسكندر الزمان*,¹ *ملك البحرين*.²

Line J. Above the ر of *ركابه* there is a ه which could be added to *عود* and read *عودة*, a form not uncommon in the literary Arabic of the Mamluks; ³ in reality, however, it is probably a differentiating sign only. This journey to Jerusalem which Baybars undertook on the completion of his pilgrimage to Mecca is mentioned by many Arab historians, cf., e.g., *Husn al-manāqib* (MS. Paris, Ar. 1707, fo. 127^v–228^r); Abu-l-Fidā', s.a. 668 (ed. Reiske, Vol. V, p. 26 = Ibn al-Wardī, II. 229, l. 4 b); Nuwairī, s.a. 668 (MS. Leyden, Or. 2 m., fo. 294^v, l. 8 f.); *SM*. I b, p. 75; Ibn Iyās, I. 207 f. The wording of the passage in Mujir ad-dīn (p. 433, ll. 17 ff.) is very different from the one on p. 93, and whereas the latter seems merely to reproduce the text of the inscription, the former shows that Mujir ad-dīn had another, independent source of information.

Line N. The word in angular brackets, transcribed as *من*, looks in the inscription like a ر with a head-piece, which in the original text must have been a *mīm*.

We should expect the last word to be either *as-salām* or *at-taslīm*, the conventional end of this so common phrase, or else *at-taḥiyya*, the latter being a rhyme-word to *an-nabarwiyya*. None of these readings is justified by what is visible of the obliterated end of the line. Moreover—unless I am much mistaken—*at-taḥiyya* does not occur except in phrases containing the full formula *'alā ṣāḥibihā afḍal aṣ-ṣalāt wa-s-salām*.

II

DAMRA a village in the district of Gaza, P.E.F. Map, Sheet XIX. E.w. *Tūmrah*.

THREE FRAGMENTS of marble found near the well at the northern end of the village, now in the Palestine Archaeological Museum (Nos. I 8727–8). Six lines of very clear provincial mamluk naskhi, full diacritical points, abundant vowel-marks, several differentiating signs. Maximum dimensions of fragments (A) and (B): 67 cm. in length, 43 cm. in height; frag-

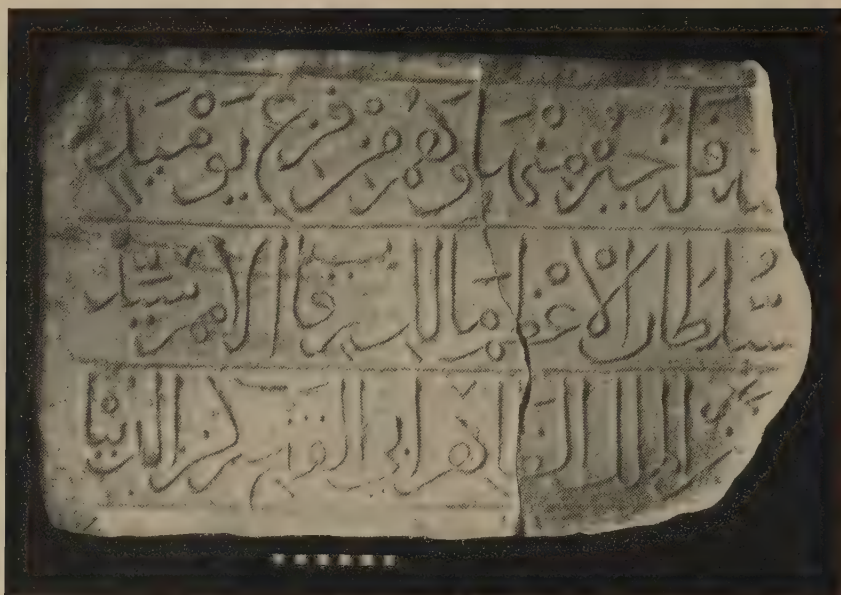
¹ *CIA. Égypte*, I, No. 251, pp. 368, 710.

² *CIA. Égypte*, I, No. 95; Sobernheim, *Baalbek*, Nos. 11, 12.

³ Zetterstéen, *Beiträge*, p. 145, l. penult.

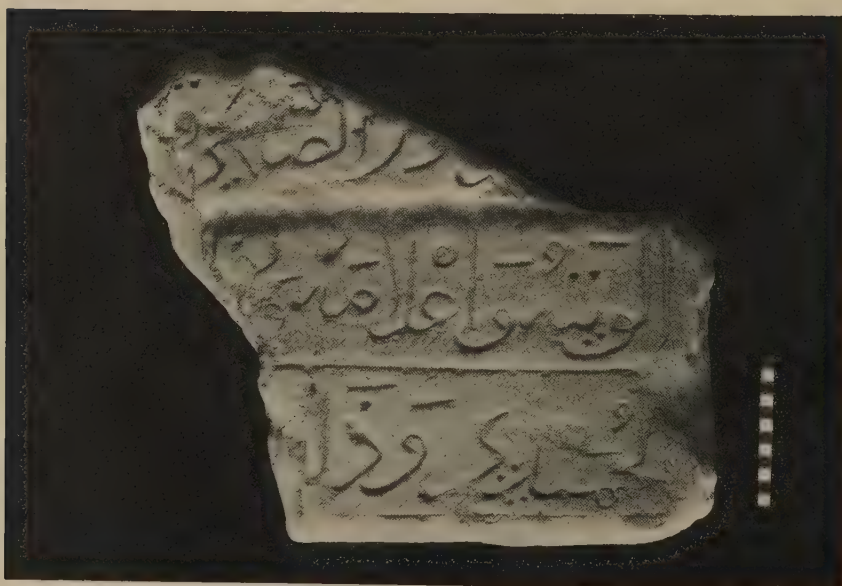


TWO INSCRIPTIONS OF BAYBARS



B

A



C

TWO INSCRIPTIONS OF BAYBARS

ment (c): 40 cm. in length, 40 cm. in height. The fragments cover the left half of lines 1-3, and the right third of lines 4-6. Unpublished, cf. Plate VI.

1 [بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ مَنْ جَاءَ بِالْحَصْنَةِ فَلَهُ خَيْرٌ مِنْهَا وَهُمْ مِنْ قَزَعِ
يَوْمَئِذٍ

2 [آمَنُونَ . . .] [إِسْلَاطَانِ الْأَعْظَمِ مَالِكِ رِقَابِ الْأُمَمِ سَيِّدِ

3 [مُلُوكِ الْعَرَبِ وَالْعَجَمِ . . . خَادِمِ الْحَرَمَيْنِ الشَّرِيفَيْنِ الْمَلِكِ الظَّاهِرِ أَبِي الْفَتْحِ
رُكْنِ الدُّنْيَا

4 [. . .] [بَيْبِ] رَسِ الصَّالِحِي قِ [سَيِّمِ] أَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ . . . وَنُشِرَ فِي الْخَافِقِينَ

5 أَلُوَيْتِهِ وَأَعْلَامُهُ وَتَو [لَى] عِمَارَتِهَا

6 الْحَمِيدِي وَذَلِكَ [.]

. . . Qur'ān XXVII. 91 . . . *the Most Powerful Sultan, the Lord of the Necks of the Nations, the Master . . . al-Malik az-Zāhir Abu-l-Faṭḥ Rukn ad-dunyā* [wa-d-dī]n [Bayba]rs aṣ-Ṣāliḥī, *Ass[ociate of the Commander of the Faithful . . . and may he unfurl] his flags and banners [in East and West] . . . in char[ge of the work was . . .] al-Humaidī. And this [was done] . . .*

Line 4. The honorific surnames as well as the *relatif d'appartenance* impose the suggestion that the name of the Sultan was Baybars. Traces of this can be recognized in the second and third letters visible in line 4, which form the *rā* and the ending paraph of the *sīn* in [بَيْبِ] رَسِ. The first letter appearing on this fragment which looks on the photograph like a stylized 4 of a well-known type, is a final *nūn*, the hook to the right being due only to a portion of the marble having been chipped off. We are thus left with just enough space to fill the beginning of the line with the missing five letters, written in the broad character of the script of our text, and complete the word to والدين, above which the beginning of the name بَيْبَرْس would have been written. If this assumption is right, there is nothing missing between the end of fragment B and the beginning of C.

L. A. MAYER.

STREET LEVELS IN THE TYROPOEON VALLEY. II¹

THE northern boundary line of the great Tyropoeon viaduct, as marked by Sir Charles Warren in Plate XXXVI of the Palestine Exploration Fund Jerusalem Excavations and annotated with the words 'Presumed Line of First Wall', if produced westward, cuts the present line of the *Tarīq el Wād* at a point approximately 7.5 m. north of *Tarīq Bāb es Silsileh*. Ten metres farther west it crosses the line of the *El Wād* sewer some 4.80 m. north of the same street.

At about this point the engineers engaged on the construction of the new sewer during the summer of 1931 encountered the face of a wall of rather rough masonry laid in courses 60 cm. high, the stones being up to 120 cm. long and laid as headers and stretchers. The core of the structure, through the top of which the sewer was cut, is composed of rubble and concrete: it proved, with the northern face, to have a thickness of 14 m. The face of the wall is precisely parallel to the line indicated on the Palestine Exploration Fund plan.

At the same point two changes were noted: (1) The lower street level which, followed from Shaft II, had been traced to within a few metres of the wall, disappeared. Had it continued without change of level it would have passed some 35 cm. below the top of the wall. (2) The sewer was deflected a few degrees to the east, its width and depth reduced, and its vaulted roof replaced by horizontal slabs. The course of the sewer from now on becomes irregular and its construction of an inferior quality.

It happens that the arch of the viaduct beneath which the sewer and ancient street passed at this point is still accessible through the lower part of a house a few metres east of the *Khāldī Library* on the south side of the *Tarīq Bāb es Silsileh*. The arch, which lies partly below the present street, is filled up to the springing with rubbish. A sheer wall of debris blocks its northern end, forming a precarious foundation for the houses built above. In order to ascertain the connexion between the pavements, the viaduct, and the cross-wall, it was decided to make an excavation inside this arch, clear a section of the uppermost pavement, and, if possible, see the relation of the cross-wall to one of the piers of the viaduct.

A glance at the plan shows that the arch as it now stands is a composite structure. The total area is covered by at least four distinct vaults which vary

¹ Continued from Vol. I, p. 103 f.

not only in the character and quality of their construction, but also in width and alignment. (a) The first, A'ONC, spanning the northern end, is slightly pointed: the key course is narrow, and its axis inclined slightly eastward of that of the main structure. The voussoirs at the western springing are 60 cm. deep from soffit to extrados, those on the east only 30 cm. (b) The area B'M'LP has a semicircular barrel vault: the height of the courses, some 40 cm. on the soffit, is fairly uniform. (c) To the southern end of this section an extension PLG'D has at some time been added. The junction PL was originally concealed by bonding together the intrados of the two sections, but the builders did not allow for an unfortunate subsidence of the new structure, which has resulted in the fracture of the alternate bonded stones and disclosure of the straight joint within. The southern edge of this extension has further been supported by an apparently pointed arch KJH'D. (d) To the south of this a medley of small alterations and extensions brings the plan to an end at EF—a mean total length of 20 m.

It is clear that B'M'LP represents the original arch. The northern extension, however, is carefully constructed to fit in under its end so that the boundary M'B' is hidden and cannot be placed with certainty. AQR'R' is a solid masonry pier built to support the termination of the arch on the east side. Since there is a gap of several centimetres between this pier and the inner side of the arch, the builders' aim seems to have been frustrated. Some of the stones have the diagonal dressing characteristic of Crusading work.

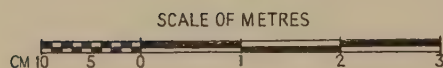
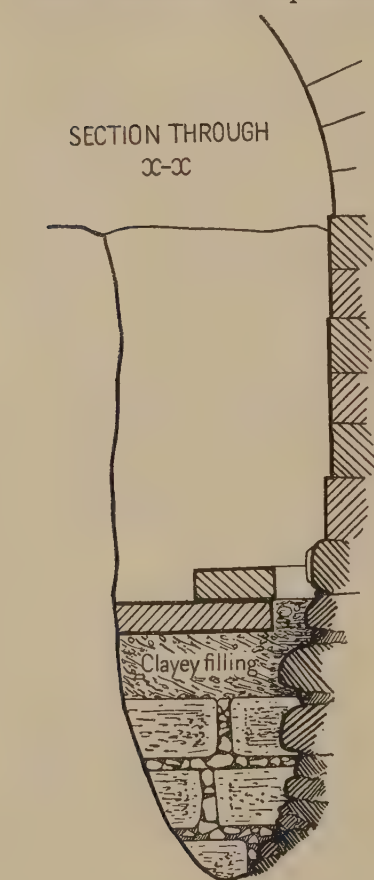
The excavation was made so as to clear the western pier of the northern extension, including its junction with the original arch. The springing course of this extension at its southern end is set back 10 cm. from the face of the pier on which it rests, forming a narrow shelf whose width is reduced to zero at O; the second and eighth courses from the top of the pier itself are similarly set back at the southern end but are flush at the north—thus effecting an appreciable change of axis between the foundation of the pier and the superimposed arch.

For 3.26 m. below the springing the pier is of hammer-dressed masonry set in courses averaging 54 cm. in height. The stones vary from 50 to 130 cm. in length. The sixth course is higher than the remainder and rests on a row of rougher and irregular stones projecting some 15 cm. from the face of the pier, and giving the impression of a foundation course. [See section through x-x, and Plate.]

At a depth of 3.50 m. below the springing a pavement 1.18 m. wide was uncovered. It proved to lie along the side of a street of diagonally laid flags, clearly identical with the upper of those seen in Shafts I and II. Some of these flags are striated at right angles to the line of the street: otherwise they are

worn smooth by use, except where the surface has been deliberately roughened to provide a firm bed for the side pavement beneath which the street paving proper extends.

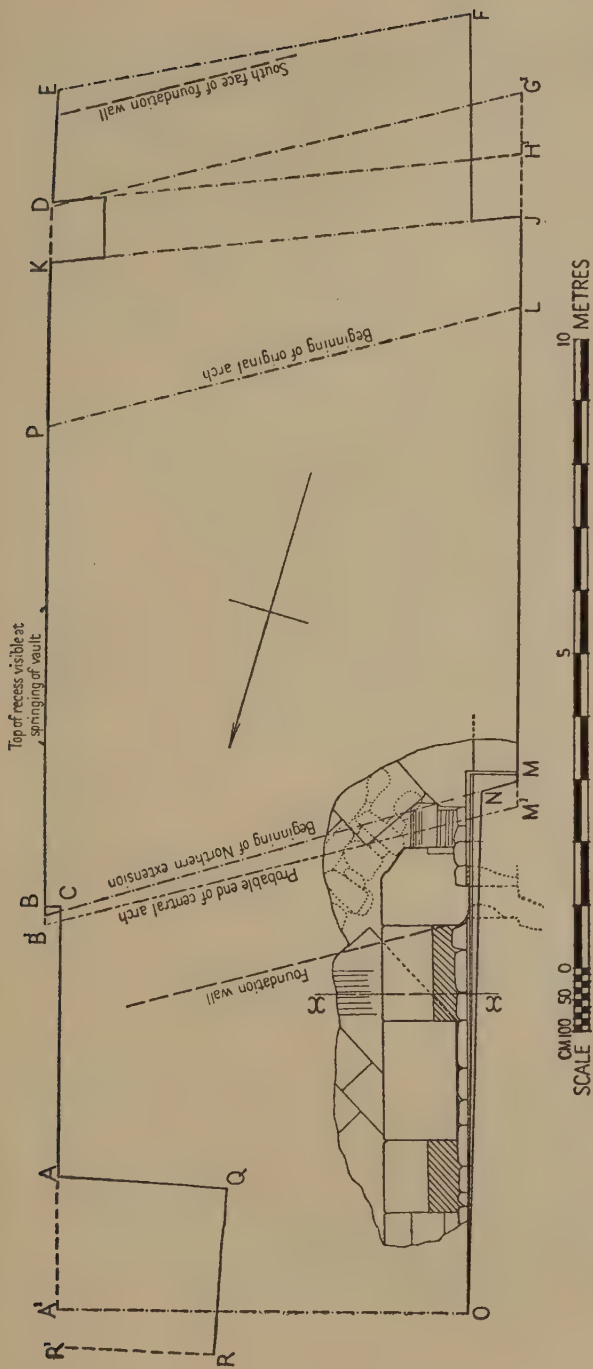
Certain features of the pavement and of the pier are noticeable: (a) the pave-



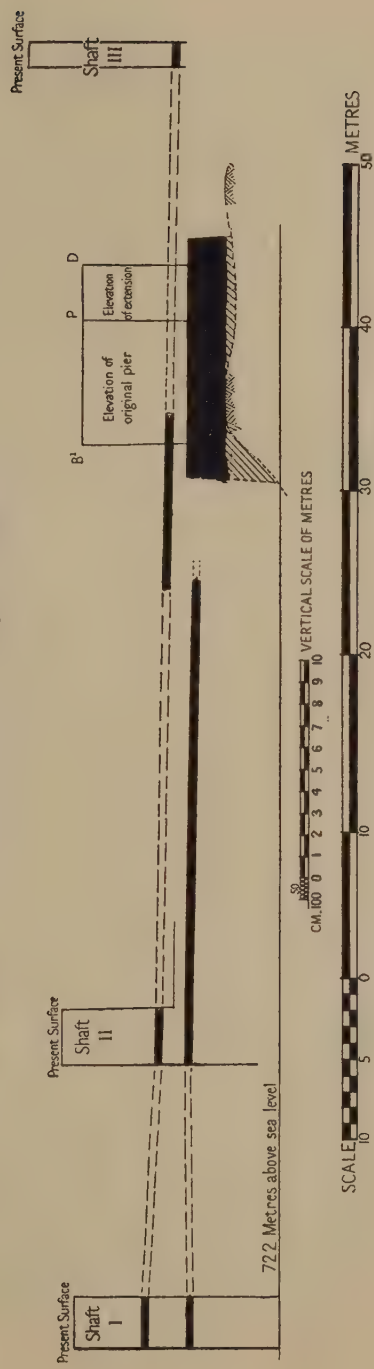
ment is composed of alternately narrow and wide slabs; the former leave a hiatus of some 50 cm. between their inner edge and the foot of the pier. (b) The rough stone footing of the pier projects 25 cm. above the top of the side pavement. The stone visible in the photograph immediately beyond the opening in the pier rests upon the paving slab, whose inner edge lies 10 cm. within the line of the lowest regular course of the pier. (c) Beyond this slab the pavement ends. The street paving here extends to the foot of the pier but shows signs of derangement, being patched with fragments of striated flags laid longitudinally. Below the latter and the end slab of the pavement a channel runs diagonally south-east from the drainage opening visible in the pier. (d) The southern end of the pier rests on a bench which forms the lowest visible course of the pier ML and projects 71 cm. from its main face. The rough footing stones are here absent. It may be conjectured that their beginning marks the end of the bench and consequently gives the approximate northern edge at M' of the original arch.

After the clearance shown in the photograph had been completed, the excavation was continued by raising the broken slab under the metre rod and sinking a shaft beside the foundation of the pier. The width of the shaft was restricted to a bare 150 cm. by the presence below the street of the new reinforced concrete sewer.

At a level 65 cm. below the street pavement the top of the north face of a



Plan of vault below Tariq Bâb es Silsileh



Diagrammatic Section of Street Levels in Tyropoeon Valley

wall was encountered and cleared to a depth of 1.60 m. The masonry is roughly dressed, with the suggestion of a marginal draft. The joints between courses and stones are 11 cm. wide and are filled with small rubble and mortar. Each course is set back 3 to 5 cm. on that below it. The foundations of the pier below the footing consist of three courses of undressed stones set in a powdery grey mortar of lime and ashes; below is a filling of rubble and earth.

Large quantities of potsherds were found both above and below the pavement. The value of the former for dating purposes is small owing to a partial disturbance of the debris above the street on the occasion of a minor repair to the sewer in recent years, so that datable sherds ranging from the Byzantine period to the present day are found distributed through all levels.

Below the pavement the filling consisted of a damp and clayey earth, homogeneous and undisturbed up to the grey mortar in which the pier foundations are laid. It yielded, in sifting, large quantities of sherds uniformly of hard fine ware, red and buff; none of these could be dated later than the Roman or earliest Byzantine period. Of six coins found below the pavement two are of the procurators [cf. *B.M. Cat. of Palestine Coins*, Pl. XXVIII, Nos. 4 and 7] dating A.D. 10 and 18 respectively; a third, though illegible, is probably of the same period. The remaining three coins break the chronological consistency of the material. One is an Arab imitation of Byzantine coinage inscribed فلسطين of the seventh century. The remaining two are badly defaced but can be assigned to the same century. A small fragment of a Greek fire grenade was also found; this too must be placed after the Arab conquest. It cannot definitely be stated whether these four objects derived from the clayey filling or from the rubble and mortar of the pier foundations. The pier itself with the arch upon it is indubitably Arab work, a fact that appears both from the form of the arch and from the masonry, a large part of which is re-used: one stone, in particular, in which a bronze revetment clamp happens to be visible, seems to derive from a Byzantine building. The appearance of this arch exactly resembles the inner section of the vaults opening onto the western side of Birket Israel.

With regard to the cross-wall and earlier parts of the vault, the probability is that they are contemporary with each other. It can be seen that the face of the wall is precisely parallel with the southern end of the original arch, PL. It happens, further, that the masonry of the Arab pier at C is partly broken away: by peering through the crevice between the two piers it is possible to make out what seems to be the northern end of the original arch pier—B'. Assuming that the northern and southern boundaries of the arch were parallel, and constructing B'M' accordingly, we find the face of the wall to be 1.60 m.

north of this line—a position consistent with the assumption that the wall is a continuous substructure bearing the piers of the original viaduct. The great width (14 m.) of the wall then requires explanation. Perhaps the relative position of its southern face and the line G'D may be taken to suggest a connexion with the first extension of the arch southward—an extension which, to judge from the character of the masonry, may have taken place not long after the construction of the original arch. It should be added that no regular masonry was found on the southern face of the wall during the Municipal work, nor was any change detected in the character of the rubble filling to indicate an original width or account for the subsidence of the newer structure.

The Street Levels. It has already been said that the lower of the two streets disappeared shortly before reaching the cross-wall. The inference is that it had already fallen into disuse when the viaduct in its present form was built, and was then cut through to allow the foundations of the latter to be sunk. It is not known whether it reappears on the south. The relation of the two streets to each other and to the viaduct is shown in the diagrammatic section on p. 37. The section shows in black those parts of the streets which have actually been seen. Since it is improbable that the lower street was laid before the reign of Herod the Great, the cross-wall must be post-Herodian, and, to judge by the rise in level, can scarcely be dated before the destruction of the City by Titus. Since the Temple area was in all probability abandoned for some centuries after the second revolt, it is difficult to account for the construction of a great bridge leading to it across the Tyropoeon valley before the reign of Constantine or Eudocia. If the upper street level was laid at the same time, it must be assumed that the Arabic coins slipped in with the foundation of the northern arch in the early Muslim period. The high level of the pier footing and the alternate gaps in the pavement are both explicable on the assumption that the street was no longer visible in the seventh century, and that a series of paving slabs forming the western edge of the side pavement, and bonded into those that survive, were raised by the builders of the pier to make way for their foundations. A rough drainage channel which was found laid diagonally across the street by the southern end of the pavement probably dates to this period.

While the exact relation of these vaults to that section of the Tyropoeon viaduct which was explored in the eighteen-sixties by Warren and Conder cannot be set out until a complete survey of the area about the lower end of Tarīq Bāb es Silsileh has been made—it is worth remarking that our vault differs from those planned by Warren in that its axis is set 14° askew on a line drawn perpendicular to its northern boundary. Whether this is due to

conformity with a pre-existing line of street or to some other cause is a question which, like that of the motive of the periodical extensions north and south, may for the present be left undecided.

With regard to Sir Charles Warren's 'assumed line of the first wall', it should be noted that we have no evidence that the wall encountered by the Municipal engineers, and described above, is anything more than the foundation of the northern Tyropoeon viaduct; Sir Charles Warren's assumption is neither confirmed nor disproved by the discovery.

R. W. HAMILTON.



Part of the foundation of the viaduct seen from above, with rough stone foundation of the Arabic arch pier to the right



View of the pavement and street looking S. and downwards. The pier of the northern arch is seen to the right of the photograph

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